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Parliamentary institutions and political parties in Egypt, 1866-1924.

Ph. D. thesis of Jacob Landau.

(Abstract)

The introduction points out the need for a comprehensive study of the subject, based on both Arabic and European sources. There follows a classification of the sources with a brief analysis of their importance.

The first part is devoted to the development of parliamentary institutions. After an outline of its origins, the first Assembly of delegates is described in its powers, achievements and importance. Next follows an appraisal of the growth of self-assertion, in the subsequent Assemblies. Special chapters deal with the work of this institution from 1879 to 1882, with particular attention to attempts to enlarge its powers. Then the influence of the social components of the Assembly on its development is weighed. The next chapter studies the development of parliamentarianism during the first thirty years of the British Occupation. It shows the stages of progress and relapse in the demand for wider powers. An estimate of the short-lived Legislative Assembly follows, and the first part concludes with a chapter on the 1923 constitution and on the 1924 Parliament.

The second part deals with the growth of political parties. Study is made of their origins and the progress of the National Party of 'Urābī's days and Miṣr al-fatāt is examined. Next Muṣṭafa Kāmil's party, Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, is described at some length, as it was the first Egyptian party organized on European lines. The subsequent chapter is devoted to the minor parties of the early twentieth century, most of which sprang up in opposition to Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī and fought it by its own methods. A large chapter deals with the Waḍd and estimates its role in political and parliamentary life. Part two concludes with an account of other post-war parties and their relation to the Waḍd, as ~~with~~

compared with the relation of the minor parties in the early twentieth century to Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī.

In conclusion, some observations are made on the general character of Egyptian parliaments and parties and the extent of European influence on them.

PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

IN EGYPT, 1866 - 1924

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE PH. D. DEGREE IN HISTORY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	pp.
INTRODUCTION	1.
PART I. PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS.	
Ch. I. The 1866-1867 Assembly	7.
Ch. II. The Assemblies from 1868 to 1878	23.
Ch. III. The 1879 Assembly	37.
Ch. IV. The 1881-1882 Assembly	45.
Ch. V. Parliamentary Life, 1883-1912	67.
Ch. VI. The Legislative Assembly	94.
Ch. VII. The New Constitution and the 1924 Parliament	103.
PART II. POLITICAL PARTIES.	
Ch. I. The Preparatory Stages	126.
Ch. II. The National Party	147.
Ch. III. Miṣr al-fatāt	179.
Ch. IV. Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī	184.
Ch. V. Minor Parties in the early twentieth century	250.
Ch. VI. The Waḥd	273.
Ch. VII. Minor Parties in the post-war years	314.
CONCLUSION	327.
APPENDICES 1-13	332.
GLOSSARY	425.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	438.

INTRODUCTION.

Egypt was the first Arabic-speaking country to throw off the yoke of Turkish rule, for, after the death of Muḥammad 'Alī, this rule was nominal rather than actual. However, Turkish influence, cultural and social, did not disappear and, indeed, was distinctly evident in the upper classes. On the other hand, European influence was gradually penetrating into Egypt and, to a large extent, supplanting Turkish predominance.

The impact of the West became obvious in the political-constitutional field with the gradual adoption of Western patterns of government and political life. In 1866, Ismā'īl Pasha created a consultative elected Assembly of Notables on the model of Western Parliaments. It took almost sixty years to turn this Assembly into something like a European Parliament.

The political parties also imitated Western models in their organisation, programmes, propaganda, etc. Though outwardly Westernized and compact, most of these parties broke at the first shock. For the modern history of the Near East, it is a work of first importance to trace the development of parliamentary institutions and political parties in Egypt and consider the extent of European influence in their inception, evolution and disruption.

Despite this importance, research in this field has hardly received any attention. No comprehensive book on the subject has yet been published, and scholarly investigation of the political and constitutional history of modern Egypt has given only casual mention to parliamentary institutions and political parties. In general, such scholars have restricted themselves to compiling a few facts, without attempting to examine the subject in its wider aspect and draw definite conclusions. These remarks apply, for instance, to the various books written about modern Egypt by 'Abd al Raḥmān al Rāfi'i, Lord Cromer, A. Colvin, Lord Lloyd, E.W.P. Newman, G. Douin, A. Sammarco, A. Hasenclever, and many others. As far as I know the present work is the first attempt to deal with the subject comprehensively, based on both Arabic and European sources. I consider that only by examining the subject over a relatively long period of time, is it possible to get a true picture.

Sources for the years 1866-1924 have received far less attention than those for the period of Muḥammad 'Alī. While the important documents relative to the rule of the latter have been published time and again, primary source-material for the political-constitutional history of Egypt during 1866-1924 is of difficult access. It is mainly of seven kinds:

- a. Archives. It is obvious that the Egyptian archives would have been the most fruitful source for such a study; however, as yet the documents pertaining to constitutional history have hardly been classified, and the recent political unrest in the Near East has made it impossible to consult them.

The French archives are not open to scholars after the mid-seventies of the nineteenth century and my investigation of them has not yielded much additional material. The archives of the Public Record Office in London, on the other hand, are open for research until 1902, inclusive, and offer much useful information about Egyptian parliamentary institutions and political parties. This material is of two kinds: either derived from personal observation and investigation, or enclosed supplementary material sent to the Foreign Office by the various consular agents in the Orient.

- b. Manuscripts. As printing had been fairly well developed by the middle of the nineteenth century, the manuscript-material for my work is very scanty. What few I have been able to find in Great Britain will be mentioned in the course of my study.
- c. Newspapers. Contemporary evidence, often quite important, may be found in the Arabic and foreign press of the period. If treated with due caution, these yield quite important first-hand information. Even literary periodicals, like Al-hiṭāṭ, often contain valuable details about political-constitutional developments and their atmosphere. Also the reaction of Egyptians to certain events can be best measured by what expression it found in the press. Therefore periodicals like the Oriente Moderno, for instance, though not exactly a primary source, have often been invaluable for their translations and summaries from the Egyptian press.
- d. Official publications. These, chiefly published by the British, French and German Foreign Offices, contain a good deal of information, though presented with a certain obvious bias. They are mainly useful for those late years for which archival material is not yet available.

- e. Collections of documents. Constitutional decrees and political manifestoes, some of them bearing an official or semi-official character, are essential for the understanding of the development of parliamentary institutions and political parties. As few of these are available in the original form in which they were first printed, recourse has been made to such collections of documents such as Mahmūd Hasan al Farīq's "Al-qānūn al-dustūrī al miṣrī". The rendering of documents in the collections I have consulted generally proved to be accurate, but I have tried, wherever possible, to check this accuracy.
- f. Memoirs. These often contain useful information from personal observation, sometimes on points which government publications and the newspapers pass over in silence. Most memoirs, however, are written in an apologetic or subjective spirit, e.g., 'Urābī's autobiography, Cromer's "Modern Egypt" and Blunt's various "Personal narratives of events", and this must be taken into account in using them.
- g. Other. While travel accounts seldom touch my subject at all, other books contain first-hand evidence, like Ninet's "Arabi Pasha". But more often than not, their use as source material lies in their including quotations from, or references to, other source material, which is not available in its original form. The works of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi' are an example of this: he often quotes at length from the manuscript minutes of the proceedings of the Egyptian "Assembly of Delegates" and from the "Al-waqā'i' al-miṣriya", the official gazette in Egypt. These quotations and the like must necessarily be treated with caution, for they are apt to contain mistakes due to incorrect reading, misinterpretation, or faulty print. Wherever possible, I have checked quotations and references by supporting evidence.

Discrepancies in the various primary and secondary sources, though not very frequent, still occur. In such instances, the quality and quantity of the evidence have been weighed; preference has often been given to eye-witness statements where they did not seem partial in their testimony. Thus W.S. Blunt's presentation of 'Urābī is certainly prejudiced by his intention to prepare the ground for the latter's return to Egypt. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī's description of Muṣṭafā Kāmil and his age should be read cautiously, as al-Rāfi'ī was, and still is, one of the leading members of the political party founded by Kāmil. Indeed, though al-Rāfi'ī's works, with their material copied from the Egyptian archives, manuscripts and press, are very valuable, I have generally given preference in points of dispute to the Public Record Office archives, if these contained unbiased reports based on personal observation or cuttings from the contemporary Egyptian press.

My work is divided into two main parts, the parliamentary institutions and the political parties. While chapters have been arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order, in the second part some overlapping was unavoidable. I have striven, however, to avoid repetition, and the length of each chapter has been determined by the

amount of material available for its subject rather than by any considerations of symmetry. For instance, less space has been given to the Miṣr al-fatāt party, whose span of life was restricted to the year 1879, than to Al-hizb al waṭanī which was founded officially in 1907 and is still in existence.

The appendices which follow are chiefly documents illustrative of my text. Two of them deal with "Ministerial Responsibility" and "Hizb". The appended glossary is intended to cover only Arabic terms mentioned in this study and should not be regarded as exhaustive. The bibliography includes only such ^{works} as have been mentioned in the text.

FIRST PART:

PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS.

CH. I. THE 1866-1867 ASSEMBLY.

The idea of creating an advisory Assembly of delegates was not totally new in Egypt. Napoleon had instituted various consultative councils of "Dawāwīn". One of these, the "Special Council" ("Al-dīwān al-khuṣūṣī"), although appointed, consisted of members representing the interests of the Ulema¹, army, the various merchants, the Copts, and the French.

Muhammad 'Alī, in his turn, formed a large Council which advised and assisted him. Not an executive council, this "Majlis al-maṣḥwara" was the predecessor of "Majlis shura al-nuwwāb" of Ismā'īl's days. It consisted of 156 members, including 33 high officials, 24 district officials and 99 of the notables of Egypt.

This Council of Muhammad 'Alī had only a consultative function in matters of administration, education and

1.

I have left words like Ulema, Fallahin, and Koran in their Anglicized form. As regards the transliteration of other Arabic and Turkish terms, I have followed the written rather than the spoken form.

public works; it could examine complaints forwarded to it and make suggestions. It met once a year to deliberate in sessions of one or more days. It first assembled on September 2, 1829 (Rabi' al-awwal 3, 1245) and debated education, agriculture and taxes².

Sa'id created a kind of State Council, consisting of one of the Princes of the Ruling family, four high-ranking officers and four important state officials. Sa'id used to consult this Council in important State matters, projects of law, and administration; however, the role of the Council continued to be advisory.

It is difficult to determine when the idea of creating a larger Council or Assembly germinated in the mind of Isma'il. As early as August 1864, the Agent of France in Egypt reported that Isma'il was thinking of endowing the provinces of Egypt with a certain degree of administrative autonomy, to be employed mainly in the collection of taxes.

2.

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, "Ta'rikh al-haraka al-qaumiya wa-tatawwur nizām al-hukm fī Miṣr", vol.III, pp.571-578.
 J. Deny, "Sommaire des archives turques du Caire", pp.33-34.
 Article on "Ta'rikh al-sulta al-^{tashri'iya} al-misriya", ~~al-ḥukūma~~, vol.XXII, Nov. 1913, pp. 85 ss.
 Contrast P.G. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", p.138.

The pivot of the projected reforms was intended to be the shaikhs of the villages³.

But Ismā'īl seemed to have found another way of gaining a more effective control over the Notables of the villages - by the creation of an Assembly of those Notables. In 1866 — curiously coincident with the appearance of 'Abd Allāh Abū'l-Su'ūd's bi-weekly Wādī' al-Nīl, which was mildly critical of the Government⁴ — before the publication of the decree announcing the foundation of the Assembly, the English, French and Belgian newspapers got wind of the project and published the most fantastic reports. According to the Indépendance Belge or the Paris Temps, the new Assembly was to be elected on Western patterns and invested with the same rights as the French legislative bodies⁵! It is not unlikely that Ismā'īl's agents spread those rumours in the newspapers of Western Europe, in order to draw more attention to the new project.

3.

Quoted by G. Douin, "Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl", vol.I, p.294.

4.

Kamal Eldin Galal, "Entstehung und Entwicklung der Tagespresse in Ägypten", p.53.

5.

Douin, op.cit., vol.I, p.296; J.C.McCoan, "Egypt under Ismail", pp.42-43.

In November 1866, a "Réglement" creating an "Assembly of Delegates" (*Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) was issued⁶. It contained two laws, the *Lā'ihā asāsīya* and the *Lā'ihā nizāmīya*⁷.

The *Lā'ihā asāsīya*, the "Statute of Foundation [of the Majlis]", dealt in eighteen paragraphs with the method of election, the rules of eligibility and the periods of session. The first paragraph, which defined in a general way the powers of the Assembly, merits quotation in full:

"L'Assemblée aura pour mission de délibérer sur les intérêts intérieurs du pays; elle aura également à se prononcer sur les projets que le Gouvernement croira relever de ses attributions, et au sujet desquels, elle donnera son opinion qui sera soumise à l'approbation de Son Altesse le Vice-Roi."

This opening paragraph delineated the activities of all the sessions of the Assembly, during Ismā'īl's rule. The subjects within the scope of its deliberations were only those relating to the interior affairs of Egypt; the initiative belonged to the Government, which then meant the

6.

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl", vol. II, pp. 92-95. G. Zanāniri, "Le Khédive Ismaïl et l'Égypte (1830-1894)", p. 65. Muḥammad Ṣabrī, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-ḥadīth min Muḥammad 'Alī ilā #1-Ṣaum", pp. 149-150. A. Sammarco, "Le règne du Khédive Ismaïl", pp. 135-139. I am using the terms "Majlis al-nuwwāb" and "Assembly of delegates" interchangeably.

7.

See App. 1 and 2.

Khedive; the Assembly could give only an advisory opinion, which was then to be submitted to the Khedive for endorsement or rejection. The most important point was that the Assembly was constituted merely with consultative functions.

The following paragraphs fixed the conditions of eligibility: members were to be twenty-five years of age, born in Egypt, honestly living on their earnings, outside the army and Government service, and of good reputation (i.e., having never been declared bankrupt or dismissed from work by Court sentence). Much the same conditions applied to the electorate itself. Thus the Viceroy was indirectly enabled to prevent any undesirable person from being elected, by drafting him into the army or appointing him to a Government job.

The balloting was to be indirect, that is, the vote of the people chose electors who, in turn, elected the members of the Assembly. This was indeed the only feasible way in a community with no political consciousness or party-system. As Cairo, Alexandria and Damietta sent together only six delegates, this electoral system was designed mainly for the rural population which, in certain parts, were almost entirely illiterate. Thus they could only be expected to vote for persons in authority known to them in everyday life.

The so-called delegates, seventy-five in number, were to be elected for three years. These delegates could by no means ("en aucun cas") receive petitions — a step probably taken to prevent the eventuality of delegates becoming too popular. The Viceroy alone could convoke, adjourn, prorogue and dissolve the Assembly, rights which practically enabled him to get rid of any Assembly which showed a spirit of antagonism to him⁸.

This law was followed by a sixtyone-paragraph *Lā'ihā nizāmiya* entitled in the French official translation "Loi déterminant les attributions de la Chambre des délégués"⁹.

8.

Full Arabic text of both laws in "Hudūd wa-nizāmnāmat majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb al-misriya". Arabic text of the *Lā'ihā asāsiya* in Mahmūd Ḥasan al-Ḥarīq, "Al-qānūn al-dustūrī al-misrī wa-tatawwur nizām al-daūla al-misriya", part III, pp.121-125; Arabic text of the *Lā'ihā nizāmiya*, ibid., pp.125-139. For the full French text see Douin, op. cit., vol.I, pp.298-301. A. Sammarco, op. cit., pp.413-416. Georg Kampffmeyer, "Die ägyptische Verfassung vom 19. April 1923", M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.39-41; cf. ibid., pp.3-4. A text different in wording, but not in meaning, is that in the French official publication "Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Egypte. 1881" (Paris, 1882), No. 35, Sienkiewicz's despatch to Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, dated Le Caire, Oct. 3, 1881, Annexe, pp.62-64: this may be a different translation from Arabic into French. Cf. also F.O. 78/3324, Enclosure in Malet's Political No. 252, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 24, 1881; and ibid., the Enclosures in Malet's Political No. 256, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 27, 1881.

9.

See App. 2.

In it, besides repeating in another form some of the regulations contained in the "Lā'ihā asāsīya", the powers and procedure of the Assembly were more closely defined. It established the rules of the Viceroy's Speech and the reply to it, the verification of the members' credentials, the functions and powers of the President of the Assembly, the methods of examination of projects and suggestions by sub-commissions, the order of the debate and the manner of voting, the immunity of members from arrest and trial, and the secrecy of the deliberations of the Assembly.

These regulations obviously follow, sometimes even in detail, the procedure of Representative Assemblies in Western Europe, particularly that of the *Assemblée Nationale* in France. Some of these regulations, in their Egyptian adaptation, seem somewhat naive, e.g., that no delegate may interrupt another (§ 28); that no delegate may speak except by the President's permission (§ 30); or that the Assembly should pay attention when addressed by its President (§ 31). But these apparently unnecessary regulations, as well as the rule that delegates might not be absent from the meetings of the Assembly without permission (§ 41), are amply explained not only by the ignorance of Parliamentary procedure, but by the expectation that a number of delegates would be illiterate (§ 61).

The "Lā'ihā nizāmiyā" gave the Viceroy effective control over the Assembly, its deliberations and its decisions, not only by his virtual control of the elections — inevitable as that was in a country where personal rule was paramount — but by the force of paragraphs 2 and 3. All the decisions of the Assembly were submitted to him and it was he who nominated the President and Vice-President of the Assembly.

The first session of the Assembly was opened on November 10, 1866, with a speech by the Viceroy, which was read in Arabic¹⁰. In the speech, Ismā'īl referred to the great work done for Egypt by Muhammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm, and pointed to the creation of the Assembly as a proof of his own earnest desire to continue their work. He then quoted some verses from the *Kor'an* to show that a Muslim ruler should rule by the advice of his people¹¹. It was significant that there was no mention whatever of the Sultan, an omission which, when combined with other evidence, suggests that even at this time Ismā'īl desired to assert his independence of the Porte.

10.

For the Arabic text see al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl", vol.II, p.100. Al-hilāl, XXII, Nov. 1913, p.88. Cf. Sammarco, op.cit., p.140. See also Douin, op.cit., vol.I, pp.302-303, for a French translation.

11.

Al-Rāfi'ī, ibid., vol.II, pp.100-101. Douin, op.cit., vol.I, pp.303-304.

After this speech and the reply to it, the members divided into five committees or *Aqlām*, of fifteen members each. These Aqlām had two main tasks: (a) to examine the credentials of the members; (b) to choose the sub-commissions or *Qūmis̄yūnāt*, which would examine the various problems. It was only after the Aqlām had completed these tasks that the plenary meetings of the Assembly began. The session continued until January 24, 1867, when Rāghib Pasha, the President of the Assembly, announced the adjournment. He thanked the delegates for their proposals and advice, for the interest they had shown in the proceedings, and for their participation in the discussions.

The usual procedure was as follows: the Assembly had to discuss proposals submitted to it either by the Viceroy or by one of its members. If the latter happened to be the case, the proposal was submitted by the President of the Assembly to the plenary, which had to decide whether it wanted to discuss it or not. If the decision was affirmative, the proposal was sent to the Council of Ministers (Majlis al-wuzarā') for amplification, and then brought back to the Assembly. Then it was usually given for clarification to a Qūmis̄yūn chosen from among the Aqlām, who prepared a report on the proposal, printed it and distributed it among the members

of the Assembly. If it was accepted in this form, it was handed to the Viceroy, who decided about it whatever he thought fit; if not, the debates of the Assembly on the subject continued, and different high officials were called to elucidate points for the benefit of the Assembly. All these proceedings were not held in public and no stranger could be present¹².

The questions with which the Assembly dealt were of four kinds: taxes, property, public works, education.

(a) Taxes. The delegates pointed out the inadvisability of collecting the taxes monthly, and suggested that they be collected at harvest time, thus sparing the fallahin much misery. Several ways were proposed to limit the powers of the tax-collectors, who were notoriously arbitrary. The abrogation of *Nizām al-‘ahd*, a system which enabled government-contractors to buy the taxes of a district and afterwards to mulct the fallahin, was discussed. Hāfiẓ Pasha, the Mufattish (High Inspector of Finances), took part in the deliberations. Some debate took place about introducing into Egypt the practice of affixing stamps to commercial and legal documents.

12.

Article on "Ta'rikh al-sulta al-niyābiya fī 'l-hukūma al-misriya" in Al-hiṭāl, vol. XVIII, Jan. 1, 1910, pp. 205-206. Article on "Ta'rikh al-sulta al-tashri'īya fī 'l-hukūma al-misriya", ibid., vol. XXII, Nov. 1913, pp. 87-88. Al-Rāfi'ī, "‘Asr Ismā‘īl", vol. II, pp. 104 ss. Douin, op.cit., vol. I, pp. 304, 312-313.

(b). Property. A certain amount of inconclusive consideration was given to the question of landed properties, and the taxes to be paid on them. The Assembly stressed the importance of assessing the Amiriya domains.

(c) Public Works. The first problem of public works which was considered was the conditions arising from the abolition of the corvée (sukhra). A commission drew up a detailed report in two chapters. The first chapter dealt with methods of executing such works, and tried to envisage what problems might arise from the use of paid labour in different parts of Egypt. The second chapter was concerned with the works themselves, mainly building of bridges and the excavation of canals in Egypt (e.g., two new canals in the Delta) and their maintenance.

(d) Education. The creation of new schools was discussed, and the Assembly's opinions on the subject were expressed in a long report prepared by a special commission. The main points of this report were as follows:

1. A school should be created in each mudiriya as well as in the larger towns.
2. These schools should be near the railway lines.

3. These schools were to be open to all Muslims and Copts under fourteen years of age, irrespective of wealth.
4. The Minister of Education would draw up the curricula of these schools and fix the hours of attendance.
5. He would also decide what food was to be given to the pupils and would provide school uniforms for the poorer pupils.
6. All expenses were to be met by the mudīriya or the town in which the school was located.
7. Part of the Waqf revenues would also go to the maintenance of these schools.
8. The inhabitants of Egypt should be urged to contribute voluntary gifts towards the maintenance of these schools.
9. Accounts of revenues and expenses should be kept in each school.
10. These accounts would be examined by a committee established in each mudīriya.

The report ended with some general observations on the great importance of education for the population of Egypt.

Sharīf Pasha was delegated by the Viceroy to discuss the commission's report in a plenary meeting of the

Assembly. He pointed out that though the Viceroy and his advisers accepted in general the suggestions of the Assembly, it was not considered proper to devote a part of the Waqf revenues to these schools. The revenues of a 23,000 fedden property would be devoted to these schools instead, and voluntary contributions should provide the rest¹³.

European writers, both at the time and afterwards, expressed a good deal of scepticism about the 1866/7 Assembly. Judging it by West-European standards, they decided that this Assembly had the shadow of power, and was set up by Ismā'īl only to enable him to pose as a

13.

Al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl, vol.II, pp.104-113. Douin, op.cit., vol.I, pp.304-313. Sammarco, op.cit., pp.140-141 — based on the National Archives of Paris, vol. 38, f.445, No.66, and on the Vienna Archives (HHS), Consulates, Fasc.XXXVIII/152, No. 2. J. Heyworth-Dunne, in his "An introduction to the history of Education in modern Egypt" makes no mention of these proceedings of the Assembly of Delegates on education.

constitutional ruler and thereby facilitate for himself the task of obtaining new loans from British and French financiers¹⁴.

It is not unlikely that the desire to obtain new funds was paramount in Ismā'īl's mind when he created Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb. From what is known, one could hardly consider him a champion of popular rule. Besides, he could not but have known that the Egyptians were poorly equipped to govern themselves through Parliamentary institutions at the time. Still, this experiment was a step towards letting the inhabitants of Egypt have a say in their own offices.

14.

Cromer, "Modern Egypt", vol.I, p.68. McCoan, op.cit., pp.42-49. S. Rievès, "Français et Anglais en Egypte 1881-1882", §.7. S. de Chonsky "Croquis égyptiennes", p.37. H. Stephan, "Das heutige Aegypten", pp.169-173. M. Lüttke, "Aegyptens neue Zeit", vol.II, pp.48 ss. Werner von Grünau, "Die staats- und völkerrechtliche Stellung Aegyptens", p.110. Also Zia Bey, "Le Khédive", pp.2-3. Cf., however, Amin Osman, "Le mouvement constitutionnel en Egypte et la constitution de 1923", p.47. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Asr, Ismā'īl", passim, esp. vol.II, pp.96-97. Emile Sélim Amad, "La question d'Egypte (1841-1938)", p.46, n.1. A. Hasenclever, "Geschichte Aegyptens im 19.Jahrhundert (1789-1914)", pp.209-210. J. Hervé, "L'Egypte", p.185.

The Assembly of Delegates had undeniably only an advisory function, without any real legislative powers. But so, also, was the curia regis which, in parts of mediaeval Europe, was the fore-runner of Parliamentary life. In Egypt, too, Parliamentary institutions were to develop from such inconsiderable beginnings. It is significant that the members of the Assembly, who were practically all of the village notable class, paid attention not only to matters concerning themselves alone, but discussed at length the improvement of education, which certainly was a subject affecting the future of all those who lived in Egypt.

It is difficult to estimate what impression the creation of Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb made in Egypt at that time. Rifā'a Rāfi', whose "Kitāb manāhiḥ al-albāb al-miṣriya" was published in 1869, was among the few who realised the importance of this event. In the few lines which he devoted to the foundation of Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb, he praised Ismā'īl very highly for creating this Assembly, adding that by this act "Ismā'īl became dominant over an Umma of free opinion, consulting it about the proper measures and regulations, the introduction of which proposed their benefit"¹⁵.

15.

Rifā'a Rāfi', "Kitāb manāhiḥ al-albāb al-miṣriya fī mabāhiḥ al-ādāb al-ʿaṣriya", p.215.

Otherwise, the creation of this Majlis seems to have made but little impression on the contemporaries of Rifā'a Rāfi'. Few, if any, realized in those days that Parliamentary institutions would ultimately develop in Egypt out of this Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb.

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CH. II. THE ASSEMBLIES FROM 1868 to 1878.

Few of the sessions of Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb between the years 1868 and 1878 show any new features, when compared with the 1866-1867 session of the Assembly.

As mentioned before, the Majlis was elected for three years. The second session of this Majlis in Ismā'īl's time began on March 16, 1868, and ended on May 18, 1868¹⁶. The Khedive's speech reviewed the work of the previous session, explained why certain measures suggested by the Assembly of Delegates had not yet been carried out, and then asked that the members continue the consideration of agricultural problems ¹⁷. A committee was elected to prepare a reply to the Khedive's speech. The composition of the Aglām was left unchanged except for three new members who were elected to fill vacancies caused by death.

The deliberations of the Majlis resulted in the following important suggestions: the formation of an agricultural centre in each mudiriya, to be named *Majlis

16.

This is the closing date according to F.O.78/2042, Consul Thos. F. Read's Despatch No. 17 to Stanley, dated Cairo, June 17, 1868, and Enclosure. Al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl", vol. II, p.122, gives May 23, 1868, as the closing date.

17.

Text in Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.41-42; cf. ibid., p.4.

tanzīm al-zirāʿa* ("organisation of agriculture"), the members of which, elected under the supervision of the 'Umda-s should try to improve the conditions of agriculture; the initiation of experiments in cultivation according to the most recent methods; a census of the population, for the arrangement of the corvée; an arrangement whereby exemption from military service might be bought by a payment of eighty pounds; the draining of marshes; an increase in the number of physicians in the countryside and the building of hospitals; the reorganisation of taxes.

Ministers, engineers and doctors working for the Government were invited to some of the debates. Unlike the first Majlis, where such matters were not touched upon at all, this second one discussed the financial problems of Egypt with Ismāʿīl Pasha Sadiq. This Pasha, who was of great assistance to the Khedive in financial matters, informed the Majlis that Egypt's revenue exceeded by far its expenditure (which was absolutely false in 1868¹⁸). Still — he added — the Government requested an increase of a sixth

18.

See McCoan, "Egypt as it is", pp.124,135.

in the taxes, as well as the flotation of an internal loan. The Assembly acquiesced in both measures as a matter of course.¹⁹

The third session of the first Assembly of Delegates was from January 28 to March 22, 1869. The Khedive's Speech was more detailed this time. He spoke of many agricultural improvements, the lightening of corvée duties, the postponement of the exaction of taxes, and certain economies in expenditure. The roads had been improved and, although many fallahin had been subjected to hardships in building the Suez Canal, it was hoped, on the other hand, that Egypt would derive a substantial revenue from it. Education in Egypt had improved. It was intended to improve agriculture, commerce and communications in the Sudan. Negotiations about the Mixed Courts were proceeding with the European Powers²⁰. This speech was too optimistic and gave an incorrect account of the loan transactions, not mentioning at all the floating debt²¹.

19.

F.O., *ibid.* Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, vol.II, pp.116-122.

20.

Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, vol.II, pp.123-127. For a complete French translation of the Khedive's speech see Sammarco, *op.cit.*, App.III, pp.416-424; cf. also Douin, *op.cit.*, vol.II, pp.128-136 for another full translation into French.

21.

Cf. Douin, *ibid.*, vol.II, p.136. See also M. Lüttke's sarcasm at this speech, in his *op.cit.*, vol.II, pp.49-52.

There were very few changes in the membership, and a committee of ten was elected to prepare the reply to the Khedive's speech. The deliberations centred mostly about the proposals of the delegates on questions concerning the public interest. It was suggested that the appointment of village-notables should be made in consultation with the villagers; that mudīr-s should be discharged only after proof of misconduct; that the Courts be obliged to draw up accurate title-deeds for anyone desiring them. There was to be careful planning of towns and villages by engineers, with due attention to streets; improvement of agriculture, and the excavation and maintenance of additional canals. In addition to the "Majālis tanzīm al-zirā'a", on which a decision had been passed in the previous year, it was thought advisable to create supervisory agricultural committees, called "Majālis taftīsh al-zirā'a", composed of specialised officials. Then the Assembly pressed the Government to institute experimental farms. Towards the end of the session, a false review of Egypt's revenues and expenditure during the preceding year, was submitted to the Assembly²².

22.

Cf. al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismāʿīl," vol. II, pp. 127-129.

At the end of the year 1869 there were new elections. The new session opened on February 1, 1870, and lasted until March 31, 1870. 'Abd Allāh 'Izzāt Pasha, who had presided over the sessions of 1868 and 1869, was again appointed President of the Assembly. The Khedive's speech was much shorter this time, avoided reference to the political situation of Egypt, and gave almost no information about the activities of the Government in the previous year. The President, with a committee of ten, prepared and delivered the reply to the Khedive's Speech, merely a formal expression of gratitude, since they did not dare to make any reference to the financial condition of Egypt. Then the Assembly split into its *Lijān* or *Aqlām*, which examined the validity of the credentials.

The proposals (raghabāt) which the members decided upon had to do with agricultural matters; improvements in irrigation, the construction and repair of bridges and dams, and the dredging of canals. Some dealt with judiciary conditions: the creation of a Court, if only a small one, in each mudiriya, instead of only one Court to every two or three districts, as hitherto; the creation of two separate Courts of Appeal, in Jurja (Girga) and Minā — this last request was granted by the Government.

The Government reported the budget of the previous year, in figures which were very far from the truth and gave details of only part of the expenditure. The delegates did not discuss the budget, save for a few short and relatively unimportant remarks²³.

In 1871, the Assembly resumed session under the Presidency of Abū Bakr Rātīb Pasha. For some unknown reason, it did not meet, as usual, in the winter, but in the hot summer months, from June 9 to August 6²⁴. In the Khedive's speech there was no allusion to the economic or political state of Egypt, but only congratulations and good wishes. A few new delegates were elected for this session, their predecessors having died or been appointed to Government posts. The reply to the Khedive's speech was similar to that in former sessions.

The deliberations again were mainly about agricultural matters and improvements in the judiciary. The Assembly requested the Government to abolish the "Animals' tax" ("Darībat al-mawāshī") which had been imposed that year — and the Government complied with this request. It was

23.

Ibid., pp.130-135, F.O.78/239, Colonel Stanton's Despatch No.19, to Clarendon, dated Cairo, Feb.4, 1870.

24.

This opening date conforms to F.O.78/2186, the beginning of Lionel Moore's Despatch No.3, to Granville, dated Alexandria, June 20, 1871; the date given by al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl," vol.II, p.136, viz. June 10, 1871, should be corrected accordingly.

pointed out that matters of a judicial nature were too often decided upon by ordinary civil officials, and one of the delegates suggested that the number of Courts should be increased, and the attention of the Government was drawn to this point.

The Assembly next accepted some proposals on these matters, which had been drafted by the Council of Ministers in the presence of four of the delegates. Furthermore, it was decided to establish two Courts in every village, the "Majlis mashyakhat al-bala'", which would concern itself with administrative affairs, and the "Majlis da'awi al-bala'", to deal with minor law matters. Besides, a central Court was to be founded in the largest village of each mudiriya, and called "Majlis al-da'awi al-markaziya", from which one might appeal to "Al-majlis al-mahalli" in each mudiriya. At the end of the session, the Government reported, again falsely, on the budget of the previous year. In some of the debates there was to be remarked a certain boldness in the manner of speech of some of the delegates²⁵.

25.

F.O. 78/2186, *ibid.*; F.O. 78/2187, Moore's Despatch No. 25, to Granville, dated Alexandria, Sep. 1, 1871, and Enclosure. See also al-Rafi'i, "Asr Isma'il", vol. II, pp. 136-139. Lüttke, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 52-53. L. Bréhier, "L'Egypte de 1798 à 1900", pp. 178-179, 200.

The Assembly did not meet in 1872, and its next session was from January 26 to March 24, 1873. In his opening speech, the Khedive pointed out the intention of the Government to repair bridges and dams, and, within three or four years, to construct a railway line to the Sudan. As usual, an elected sub-committee replied to the Speech. There were few changes in membership.

The delegates dealt chiefly with agricultural questions, but they also showed a certain interest in the Egypt-Sudan railway project. Utterly false information was presented to the Majlis about the budget, and no details whatever were given about the projected loan of 23 million pounds in July, 1873²⁶.

In 1874 and 1875 no meeting of the Assembly was convened. Then, after new elections, the Assembly was called in extraordinary session at Tanṭā on August 7, 1876, as the Khedive apparently needed the help of the delegates in the collection of the Mugābala tax. But it so happened that Shaikh 'Uthmān al-Harmīl protested and asked the Government, in guarded but unmistakable terms, to give a fuller explanation of its past, present and future financial

proceedings. A committee of three Members — al-Harmīl not being among them — was shown various reports by the financial officials, and announced its conclusions to the second and last meeting of the extra-ordinary session (August 10, 1876). The Assembly then approved the financial policy of the Government ²⁷.

This first clear demand, addressed to the Government in the Egyptian Assembly, while not actual opposition²⁸, was an important instance of outspoken criticism of the Government's weakest point at the time — its financial policy. This open criticism, daring in the circumstances, was an omen of future opposition to the Khedive and some parts of his policy.

This extraordinary meeting of the Assembly did not affect the usual winter session. The newly elected Assembly sat from November 23, 1876, to February 15, 1877. The Khedive Ismā'īl, accompanied as usual by his Ministers, opened the session and mentioned the extraordinary meetings at Tantā and the decisions confirming both the Muqābala²⁹ and the arrangements with Goschen and Joubert

27.

Id. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 179-181. Kamal Itani, "Les déclarations des droits de l'homme dans les constitutions récentes de l'orient moyen", pp. 107-108.

28. or "Mu'ārada", as al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 179-180, would have it.

29. On this form of taxation see McCoan, "Egypt as it is", pp. 124 ss.

about Egypt's debts³⁰. He desired the Majlis (a) to discuss and find ways to continue the Muqābala; (b) to seek improvements in the proposals of the Ministry of Public Works to the Majlis. It was remarkable that the Khedive stated that the continuation of the Muqābala depended on the confirmation of the Majlis, thus apparently granting it some part in the financial administration of Egypt.

Since the extraordinary session there had been very few changes in membership. As usual, the Majlis divided into its Lijān, and then a committee of ten was elected to draft the reply to the Khedive's Speech. Significantly, the reply did not contain the long phrases of flattery of former years. It thanked the Khedive; pointed out the advantages, financial, administrative and commercial, of the organisation of Egypt's debts; hinted that it appreciated his intention to let the Majlis participate in the financial policy of the Government, and that it would avail itself of this privilege.

30.

On these arrangements see *ibid.*, pp.121, 140-143. Cromer, "Modern Egypt", vol.I, pp.13-14.

This spirit, so different from that of the first session of the Majlis ten years before, was also obvious in the discussions, delegates expressing the desire to supervise the expenditure of the Government. In connection with this, Hāfiz Bey Ramaḍān, a high official in the department of finances, appeared in person to answer certain financial questions which had arisen in the Majlis. The Assembly then deliberated on matters of Public Works, like bridges, canals, etc.

The Assembly of Delegates was convoked again on the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War. The Khedive in his Speech accused Russia of declaring war on the Porte; declared that Egypt must send troops to aid the Turkish army; and, in concluding, asked the delegates to consider the sums necessary for equipping the Egyptian corps. The Assembly debated the subject until May 16, 1877, when it was adjourned. This special convocation of the Assembly showed its growing importance in financial matters; before 1877 any ruler of Egypt who had need of funds for a similar enterprise merely imposed additional taxes and increased his extortions³¹.

31.

F.O.78/2632, passim, esp. Enclosure in Vivian's Political No.115, to Derby, dated Cairo, May 4, 1877. Al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl", vol.II, pp.181-185. McCoan, "Egypt as it is", pp.117-118.

The second regular session of the Assembly elected in 1876 was from March 28 to June 27, 1878. It was opened by the Khedive, accompanied by his Ministers. The Khedive's Speech was then read. It referred to the damage caused by the extremely low Nile of 1877; to the end of the Balkan War and the anticipated return of the Egyptian contingents. He thanked the Majlis for its support in equipping the Egyptian army, and promised a report on the expenditure on its equipment; lastly, he hinted at the nomination of the European Commission of Inquiry into Egypt's debts and financial position.

There were only a few changes in the membership of the Assembly. The committee which prepared the reply to the Speech again consisted of ten members, some of whom had participated in drafting the reply in the previous year. Therefore, the tenor of both was similar, and expressed a desire that Egypt's public debts be given some final arrangement.

The Assembly first decided on the nomination of a special committee in each mudiriya to supervise the distribution of seed and the granting of subsidies to those who had lost most in the drought of the year 1877.

Several decrees dealing with land-tenure were drafted, as well as suggestions for the development of irrigation. The Government presented a report on army-expenditure in the Russo-Turkish War, but omitted to present a Budget to the Assembly³².

Any attempt to study critically the work achieved by the Assemblies in Ismā'īl's days, up to the end of the year 1878, must stress the limited range of the subjects with which they dealt. True, certain matters were outside the scope of the Assembly, as defined in its constitutive decree. But even then, it was noticeable that the delegates, for the greater part, were hardly interested in anything except agriculture, irrigation, property and the judiciary — all of these being questions which touched them personally. The interest in education shown in the session of 1866-67 was less evident in the other sessions.

Another point worth mentioning was the gradual growth of a spirit of self-assertion in the Assembly of Delegates. Ismā'īl, in order to impress his European

32.

Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, vol.II, pp.185-188. F.B., "Das alte, christliche-und heutige Aegypten", p.534. A.Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati del Vicino Oriente", p.46.

creditors with his constitutional aims, had to consult it in many matters. This increased the feeling of self-confidence and self-importance of the members, many of whom were elected time and again. It was significant that this spirit first showed itself in the Assembly in 1871, a short time after Jamāl al-Dīn*# al-Afghānī's arrival in Egypt, though no conclusive evidence points to al-Afghānī's influence on the Assembly as early as that. Still, 'Abd al-Salām Bey al-Muwailihī, who was one of the staunchest upholders of the rights of the Assembly from 1876 onwards, was al-Afghānī's pupil and disciple. Al-Muwailihī and a few prominent colleagues of the same convictions were repeatedly elected to various important committees or sub-commissions; and it was this small group which directed the Assembly's actions in the crucial years of 1879-1882.

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CH. III. THE 1879 ASSEMBLY.

The third session of the Assembly elected in 1876, which was to be the last under Ismā'īl's rule, began on January 2, 1879; and lasted until July 6 of the same year. It opened amidst some public disquiet, which found expression in the newspapers of the period. The Khedive, accompanied by the heir-presumptive, Taufiq, and the Ministers, declared the Assembly open. Then the Khedive's Speech was read. It was very brief this time, asking the delegates to consider financial as well as public matters and wishing them success.³³

The committee elected for the reply, as on previous occasions, consisted of the most prominent delegates of the Assembly, namely 'Uthmān al-Hamīl, 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwailihī, Mahmūd Bey al-'Atṭār, Bādānī Efendi al-Sharī'ī and others. The reply, which was read at Abdin Palace by al-Muwailihī, was noteworthy. It complimented the Khedive on his interest in the development of the Assembly and on the institution of Ministerial Responsibility in Egypt³⁴,

33.

F.O.78/2998, Vivian's Political No.6, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.3, 1879. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Asr Ismā'īl", vol.II, pp.188-190.

34.

See App.3.

but it pointed out clearly, if not always openly, the right of the Egyptian Umma to freedom and the right of the Assembly to take part in decisions bearing on the future of Egypt³⁵. This was a bold reply, showing unmistakable traces of Western influence both in its ideological premises and in its terms; but, on the other hand, demonstrating no originality of thought or of argument.

During the first two months of this session, the Assembly devoted its attention to two subjects, financial matters and the maintenance of the rights of the Assembly.

On January 5, 1879, Maḥmūd Bey al-ʿAṭṭār suggested that there should be more discussion of financial problems and that reports should be requested from the Government. While the department of finances procrastinated, the department of Public Works, on the other hand, expressed its readiness to collaborate with the Majlis. The same al-ʿAṭṭār asked time and again that all problems should be debated first in plenary

35.

Al-Rāfiʿī, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 190-191. Moustapha Sabry, "Épisode de la question d'Afrique l'empire égyptien sous Ismaïl et l'ingérence anglo-française (1863-1879)", p. 341. Fawzi Tādres Awad, "La souveraineté égyptienne et la déclaration du 28 février 1922", pp. 79-80 — for a translation in part. Kamal Itani, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

session of the Assembly and not by select committees. On another occasion 'Abd al-Salām Bey al-Muwailihī asked that the Government should be urged to lay its financial plans before the Assembly. Muḥammad Efendi Rādī courageously suggested that the discussion of taxes should precede the deliberations on the financial plans of the Government. ~~The~~ The Assembly decided that it was necessary to reduce quite a number of taxes, and submitted these suggestions to the Government through a select committee, which also urged the Government to declare its financial policy³⁶.

Al- 'Aṭṭār and al-Muwailihī further protested in the Assembly against a decree issued on January 6, 1879, without the Assembly having been consulted. They asserted stoutly that in any matter concerning the population of Egypt no ultimate decision might be taken without consulting its elected representatives (viz., Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb). The Assembly endorsed the general tone of these speeches and Nūbār Pasha, on behalf of the Government, had to come and offer some evasive explanations³⁷.

36.

Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, vol.II, pp.192-195.

37.

Id., *ibid.*, vol.II, pp.195-198 — based on the ms. records of this session of the Assembly.

After these deliberations and the interest which some of the delegates had shown in the so-called "Rebellion of the officers", the Khedive made up his mind to prorogue the Assembly. In an historic meeting, attended by the Prime Minister, Rīyād Pasha, the delegates refused to disperse. Muḥammad Efendi Rādī, ʿAbd al-Salām Bey al-Muwailihī, Badām Efendi al-Sharīʿī and Bakhūm Efendi Luṭf Allāh rose time and again and forcibly pointed out that though the three year term of the Assembly had indeed lapsed, the delegates could not disperse without examining the financial policy of the Government, as they had been promised. This occurred on March 27, 1879, and two days later all the delegates present in Cairo signed a petition in which they protested to the Khedive against the disregard of the rights of the Assembly by the Council of Ministers, as well as against the proposal of the latter to declare Egypt bankrupt³⁸.

This firm and unexpected attitude of the Assembly was one of the causes of the downfall of the Council of

38.

Id., *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 203, 210-214. Diaeddine Saleh, "Les pouvoirs du roi dans la constitution égyptienne étude de droit comparé", pp. 99-102: Saleh gives the text of the financial plan presented by the delegates in their petition to the Khedive, *ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

Ministers headed by Rīyāḍ Pasha. The first step that Sharīf Pasha took after accepting the Premiership was to inform the Assembly that its session was to continue. This was communicated by Sharīf in a letter to the President of the Assembly, read to the delegates on April 10, 1879.

On May 17 of that year, Sharīf came to the Majlis and submitted its *Lā'ihā asāsīya* (Constitution) which he had drafted. He then promised to present in a few days a new electoral law for the Assembly, and implied that no law would be passed without the acceptance of the delegates. After hearing the text of the *Lā'ihā asāsīya*, the Assembly elected a committee of fifteen, a kind of constitutional sub-commission, to examine it. As was to be expected, al-Muwailihī was the President of that committee and 'Uthmān al-Harmīl, Baddīnī al-Sharī'ī and Bakhūm Luṭf Allāh were among its members.

The electoral law (*Lā'ihat al-intikhāb*) was never presented to the Assembly, because of the deposition of Ismā'īl. After Taufīq's accession, the Assembly — whose name had been changed from "Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb" into "Majlis al-nuwwāb" by the end of Ismā'īl's rule —

met on July 6, 1879, and was informed that its deliberations on the two Lā'iha-s were proving too long to be continued. Then the delegates were curtly told to return home³⁹.

Sharif's project of the constitution of the Assembly of Delegates⁴⁰ was quite interesting and in some ways a marked improvement on the decree creating the Assembly in 1866⁴¹. It contained 49 paragraphs, some of which repeated, in a slightly modified form, certain of the clauses of the 1866 decree.

The most remarkable new points were the following:

Delegates to have full liberty to express their views (¶ 9);

Final decisions over matters in dispute between the Assembly and the Council of Ministers to remain with the former (¶ 11);

The sessions of the Assembly to be open to the public (¶ 14);

Every delegate to take an oath at the opening of the session that he will be true to the Khedive and to the Watan (¶ 18);

39.

Al-Rāfi'i, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 226-237. The account given by Muḥammad Husain Haikal, "Tārājim miṣriya wa-gharbiya", pp. 75-76, is rather confused.

40.

See App. 4. Arabic text in *Al-ahram*, June 12, 1879, quoted by al-Rāfi'i, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 230-236; translated into English by me.

41.

See App. 1 and 2.

To every Egyptian the right of presenting petitions to the Assembly through any of the delegates (p 23).

At the opening of the session, the ^{Ministers} ~~Cabinet~~ must present to the Assembly for examination all its laws, decrees and decisions, and any law repealed by the Assembly cannot be presented to it again during the same session (pp 26-28);

Arabic is to be the official language of the deliberations (p 30);

The Sudan is to be permitted to send delegates (p 34);

The Ministers are responsible (mas'ulūn) to the Assembly for all their decisions and actions (pp 36 ss., 43-44);

The Assembly to have control over finances (pp 45-46)⁴².

This project would have considerably enlarged the Powers of the Assembly and increased its control over the Executive. As a matter of fact, the project was not merely the creation of Sharīf's phantasy; for he could not but take into account the general spirit of the 1879 Assembly, when he was drafting it.

42.

Al-Ahrām, 12.6.1879, quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl", vol.II, pp.230-236; cf. *ibid.*, pp.229-230. See also Paul Ravaisse, "Ismail Pacha khédive d'Egypte (1830-1895) notes historiques", pp.8-9.

The bold attitude of this session was first of all expressed in a demand for wider powers, particularly supervision of the Budget. A second characteristic, closely connected with the first, was the spirit of independence towards Khedive Ismā'īl's influence and a kind of resistance to his absolutism, probably fomented by the group of officers led by 'Urābī. This spirit of resistance to the Khedive, which had been observed at an early stage by the British Consul-General in Egypt, Charles Vivian⁴³, continued to grow. The attitude of the Assembly was, however, only one of the signs of that ferment which was to bring about the so-called 'Urābī Rebellion. These factors, along with the Khedive's desire to show the Powers his constitutional inclinations (in the last hours of his rule), enabled the Assembly to get this liberal project.

43.

F.O. 78/2998, Vivian's Political No. 21, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan. 11, 1873; *ibid.*, Vivian's Political No. 24, Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan. 18, 1879; F.O. 78/3001, Vivian's Political No. 273, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 10th, 1879.

CH. IV. THE 1881-1882 ASSEMBLY.

The years 1879 to 1882 were eventful years in the history of Egypt. The dissatisfaction, which had been seething for some time, resulted in the anti-European movement headed by 'Urābī and his fellow-officers⁴⁴. As early as 1879 there was a timid attempt to ask the Khedive Taufīq to convoke a new Parliament, on more liberal lines⁴⁵. A bolder attempt was a petition signed by some 1600 persons, which was presented to Taufīq in 1881.

'Urābī, in the second part of his memoirs, still unpublished⁴⁶, gives the text of this petition. It stresses the absolute necessity of representative institutions in orderly communal life and demands the convocation of a Majlis with the same rights as those of elected representative Assemblies in Europe. This petition for

44.

See below, part II, Chs.I-II.

45.

Ibid., Ch.III. See also Aly Shamsy, "An Egyptian opinion Egypt and the right of nations", p.10.

46.

"Mudhakkarāt 'Urābī al-makhtūṭa", p.151, cit. by al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya wa'l-ihlāl al-injlīzī", pp.171-172. Same text in Al-hilāl, vol.XVIII, Jan.1, 1910, pp.206-207. Article on "Ta'rīkh al-sulta al-tashrī'iya fī'l-hukūma al-miṣriya", ibid., vol.XXII, Nov.1913, pp.88-89.

the convocation of Majlis al-nuwwāb was a singular advance in the parliamentary history of Egypt. That, as well as the bold terms of the petition, suggests the growth of a spirit of self-assertion among the small educated minority of Egyptians who were then led by the army officers.

Pressed by this petition and by the importunities of the Group led by 'Urābī, the Khedive Taufīq decided on the convocation of the Assembly. 'Urābī and his followers seemed to be bent on putting into force the electoral law of 1873⁴⁷, which, however, had not received the Khedivial sanction, owing to Ismā'īl's dismissal. But other counsels prevailed, and the Assembly of delegates was convened according to the more restricted law of 1866, possibly on Sharīf Pasha's own advice⁴⁸. The decree, which was dated October 4, 1881, was brief. It called for new elections, fixed the date of the official inauguration of the Assembly, and charged the Minister of

47.

See the preceeding chapters.

48.

Th. Rothstein, "Egypt's Ruin", pp. 142-143. For 'Urābī's part in convoking the Assembly, cf. 'Urābī's Memorandum, outlining the main events of his own life, reprinted by Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim mashāhīr al-sharq fī'l-garn al-tāsi' 'ashar", 2nd ed., vol. I, pp. 270-271; cf. *ibid.*, p. 275; see also E. Dicey, "England's intervention in Egypt", *Nin. Cen.*, Xii, 1882, pp. 168-169.

the Interior with the execution of the decree⁴⁹.

The elections for the new Assembly of delegates began on November 10, 1881. The Government could easily have interfered in the elections, which were under the direction of its own officials — the 'Umda-s. But Sharīf Pasha issued a stern warning to Government officials against attempting to influence the elections. It is worth while stressing that this was the first Governmental Edict on the freedom of election in Egypt.

'Urābī and his Group, though they had the power to influence the elections in their favour by force, abstained from doing so, and the people voted quite freely. But the number of those who went to the polls was relatively small, as L. Loriai — one of the four inspectors under the

49.

The Arabic text of this decree is included in the published part of 'Urābī's autobiography, "Kashf al-sitār etc.", ~~al-thaura al-urabiya~~, vol.I, p.275. The French official translation was published in the Moniteur Egyptien, Oct.5, 1881 — cutting of which is Enclosure in F.O. 78/3325, Edward B. Malet's Political No. 278, to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct.8, 1881. See also Aly Shamsy, op.cit., p.10. Morcos Sadek, "La constitution de l'Egypte", pp.108-110. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", p.174.

orders of the Controllers-General, who travelled from place to place and reported on the state of the country — justly observed⁵⁰.

It is to be presumed that those few who showed interest in the elections and voted were from the ruling class. Thus it was no mere chance that the members of the 1881-1882 Assembly were practically all Notables, respected and wealthy, many of them belonging to the same families, that had sent delegates to former Assemblies. Delegates from the merchant class were few, and there were no teachers. The latter did not have a great influence in their villages and often became Government officials, thus being ineligible. Some of the delegates had sat in the former sessions in the Khedive Ismā'īl's time and had acquired some practice in Egyptian Parliamentary methods; they had also seen how the Assembly had been invested with new privileges⁵¹. So they were encouraged to demand further powers for the Assembly of Delegates.

50.

F.O.78/3326, Malet's Political No.335, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov.17, 1881, Enclosure being L.Loriai's Memorandum to Monsieur d'Ornstein, dated Tanta, Nov.15, 1881. See also al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-urābiya", pp.174-175. J.Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", p.53. L.Bréhier, op.cit., p.206. B.Jerrold, "The Belgium of the East", pp.143-144. N. Scotidis, "L'Egypte contemporaine et Arabi Pacha", p.39.

51. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-urābiya", pp.259 ss. B.Jerrold, op.cit., pp.142-143. E.Dicey, "England's intervention in Egypt", Nin.Cen., vol.Xii, 1882, p.168.

On December 26, 1881, the new session of the Assembly was opened officially by the Khedive and his Ministers, the ceremony being closed to the public as usual⁵². The Khedive Taufiq delivered the opening speech in person. In it he stressed his interest in the welfare of the inhabitants of Egypt and his desire for the growth of the importance of the Assembly. He did not omit to remind the delegates that in their deliberations they should always take into account Egypt's contracts with European Powers⁵³.

52.

Al-Rāfi'ī; *ibid.*, pp.179-182. Haikal, "Tarājim miṣriya wa-gharbiya", p.95. J. Adam, *op.cit.*, p.53. N. Scotidis, *op.cit.*, p.39. The date given in the article "Ahmad 'Urābī wa'l-hawādith al-'urābiya" in Al-hilāl, vol.XX, Oct.1, 1911, p.35 — viz., Dec.23 — is not supported by any corroborative evidence and is probably a mistake.

53.

Arabic text of the Khedive's speech in 'Urābī, *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.294-295; in the Official Gazette "Al-wagā'i' al miṣriya" No.26, Dec.26, 1881, cit. by al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", pp.180-181; in Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Farīq, "Al-qānūn al-dustūrī al-miṣrī, etc.", "part I, pp.96-97; and in Al-hilāl, vol.XVIII, Jan.1, 1910, p.209. For an English translation cf. B. Jerrold, *op.cit.*, pp.145-146. For the French official translation, see F.O.78/3326, Enclosure in Malet's Political No.396, to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec.26, 1881; also "Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Egypte. 1881-1882" (Paris, 1882), Annexe to No.10, Sienkiewicz's despatch to Gambetta, dated Cairo, Dec.27, 1881, pp.8-9. Cf. Kampffmeyer, *op.cit.*, M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.6-7. See also Joseph Achkar, "Le Khédivat d'Egypte", pp.143-144. Amin Osman, "Le mouvement constitutionnel en Egypte et la constitution de 1923", p.69. L. Bréhier, *op.cit.*, p.206. Article "Ahmad 'Urābī wa'l-hawādith al-'urābiya", in Al-hilāl, vol.XX, Oct.1, 1911, p.35. Jurjī Zaidān, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-hadīth", 2nd.ed., vol.II, p.247. Lewis Appleton, "England, France, and Egypt from 1787 to 1887", p.13.

After the Khedive's speech, Muḥammad Sultān Pasha, the President of the Assembly, made a speech, thanking the Khedive and reminding the delegates of Egypt's duties towards the Sublime Porte and its obligations towards the Great Powers; he ended by exhorting the delegates to work for reforms in their Watan⁵⁴.

It was the custom that after the address of the President of the Assembly, the delegates would elect a committee to draft the reply to the Khedive's Speech. This time, however, Sulaimān Abāza Pasha, one of the delegates, rose and delivered a speech. After paying the usual compliments to the Khedive and the President of the Assembly, he stressed, more strongly than Muḥammad Sultān Pasha, the important reforms which the Egyptian Umma expected from the Assembly⁵⁵. This unusual procedure was a further sign of the growing independence of the delegates.

54.

Text in 'Urābī, op.cit., vol.I, pp.295-296. A fuller text in Al-waqā'i' al-misriya, Dec.27, 1881, cit.by al-Rāfi'i, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", pp.182-183; cf. ibid., p.186. For a complete official French translation, see F.O.

78/3326, Malet's Political No.401, to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec.31, 1881, Enclosure 1.

55.

~~Al-waqā'i'~~ ^{al-Rāfi'i, ibid.} pp.183-184; cf. ibid., p.186. For the official French translation see F.O. 78/3326, Malet's Political No. 401, to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec.31, 1881, Enclosure 2.

A committee of ten was then elected to prepare the Assembly's reply to the Khedive's Speech. Among them was 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwailihī. The draft of the reply, having been approved by the Assembly, was read to the Khedive at the Ismā'īliya Palace on December 29, 1881. The text, though expressing loyalty to the Khedive and the Porte, did not fail to stress that the Assembly considered the promotion of the welfare of the Umma its chief duty⁵⁶.

Then the Khedive appointed the different officers of the Assembly. Muḥammad Sulṭān Pasha, who had been a staunch supporter of the 'Urābī Group at first, seemed, even at the time, to have had some secret connection with the Khedive as well⁵⁷, so that his appointment was acceptable both to 'Urābī and to the Khedive. 'Abd Allāh Fikrī Pasha and Adīb Ishāq were nominated as first and

56.

Al-wagā'i' al-miṣriya, Dec. 31, 1881, cit., by al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", p. 186; cf. ibid., pp. 185-186. For a complete official translation into French see Enclosure in F.O. 78/3434, Malet's Political No. 10, to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan. 5, 1882. See also Cromer, "Modern Egypt", vol. 1, p. 224.

57.

J. Ninet, "Arabi Pasha". Article on "Al-thaurāt al-thalāth" in Al-muqtataf, vol. XXXIII, Apr. 1, 1908, p. 277.

second secretaries respectively. They were both supporters of 'Urābī's Group, particularly Adīb Ishāq, who had already distinguished himself as a journalist. These appointments were probably made under the pressure of 'Urābī's Group⁵⁸.

Since this was the last Assembly of its kind in Egypt and the most outspoken, its proceedings merit a fuller description. After the usual election of the five Lijān of Aqlām, the credentials of the delegates were examined (December 29, 1881). At the same meeting it was decided to proceed according to the old Organic Law (*Lā'ihā asāsīya*) until a new one was enacted. A "Constitutional Sub-Commission" (*Lajnat al-lā'ihā) was elected in order to draft the new constitution of the Assembly. The head of this fifteen-member sub-commission was 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwailihī, and among its members was Hasan al-Sharīfī.

After Sharīf Pasha's memorable speech before the Assembly (January 2, 1882), in which he emphasized its rights, it was to this sub-commission that Sharīf tendered the

58.

Al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", pp.178-179.
A. Biovès, op.cit., p.45.

proposed Lā'iha. It was examined in the sub-commission and in the Assembly, and on January 18 Sultān Pasha handed to Sharīf Pasha the observations of the Assembly⁵⁹.

Sharīf Pasha sent copies of the proposed Lā'iha along with the remarks of the Assembly to the various Ministers for consideration. But the matter was left at this stage, because of the political crisis which was to lead to the resignation of the whole Council of Ministers.

From January 31 to February 2 the Assembly debated Sharīf's suggestion that it should avoid matters connected with the Budget. This point was forced upon the Assembly by the objections of the two Controllers, who were concerned to protect the interest of the foreign creditors. But, as a result of the indignation felt in Egypt after the publication of the "Joint Note" and under the pressure of the 'Urābī Group, who wanted to form a Council of Ministers out of their closest followers, the Assembly insisted on its right to deal with the Budget. Thus Sharīf and the other Ministers had to resign⁶⁰.

59.

See below, pp. 57-62.

60. F.O.78/3435, Malet's Political Nos. 48 and 49, both to Granville, dated Cairo, Feb. 6, 1882. Al-waqā'i' al-misriya, Dec. 12, 1881, to Feb. 14, 1882, summarized by al-Rāfi'i, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", pp. 186-205. Haikal, "Tarājim misriya wa-gharbiya", pp. 95-96. W.S. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", pp. 192 ss.

In the Council of Ministers headed by al-Bārūdī there was, for the first time, a prominent member of the Assembly, Hasan al-Sharī'ī Pasha. He and 'Abd Allāh Fikrī Pasha brought before the Majlis the latest draft of the Lā'iha, which was modified, to a certain extent, according to the previous criticisms of the delegates. After a short debate, it was adopted in this final form on the same day (February 7, 1882). It was signed by the Khedive immediately and brought to the Assembly on the following day by the Premier al-Bārūdī himself, who delivered a long oration ⁶¹. The Majlis went in a body to thank the Khedive and banquets were arranged in Cairo and Alexandria. ⁶²

The proceedings of the Assembly continued to be closed to the public ⁶³. There were numerous meetings of the Assembly and frequent debates between February 9 and March 26, 1882, when the session ended.

61.

See al-Bārūdī's speech in Al-Waqā'i' al-miṣriya, Feb. 12, 1882, cit. by al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-ṣurābiya", pp. 220-222. For an official French translation cf. Moniteur Egyptien, 9th year, No. 45, of Feb. 22, 1882, being Enclosure No. 1 in F.O. 78/3435, Malet's Political No. 93, to Granville, dated Cairo Feb. 25, 1882.

62.

Al-waqā'i' al-miṣriya, Feb. 2 to Mar. 3, 1882, summarized by al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-ṣurābiya", pp. 207, 217-234. Moniteur Egyptien, 9th year, No. 45, of Feb. 22, 1882, being Enclosure No. 1 in Malet's Political No. 93, to Granville dated Cairo, February 25, 1882.

63.

F.O. 78/3326, Malet's Political No. 396, to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec. 26, 1881. Bievès, op.cit., p. 45.

The subjects of these debates were much the same as in the previous sessions: improvements in agriculture and irrigation, regulation of commerce, reforms in the judiciary (e.g., the enactment of a new civil code), compulsory primary education (with specific proposals from al-Muwailihī), regulation of pensions, and the new electoral law (Qānūn al-intikhāb)⁶⁴.

The work of this session was strenuous and its raghabāt to the Government — many of which were formulated as decisions — were numerous⁶⁵. The session was closed with a speech by al-Bārūdī and a reply by Sultān Pasha. The delegates then went to take leave of the Khedive⁶⁶. A few of the delegates were still to play a part in the forthcoming struggle for control over affairs in Egypt⁶⁷.

64.

Al-waqā' i' al-miṣrīya, Feb. 22 to Apr. 20, 1882, cit. in al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-urābiya," pp. 235-259. F.O. 78/3435, passim; F.O. 78/3436, passim, e.g., Cookson's Political No. 23, to Granville, dated Cairo, Mar. 13, 1882 (on the "Cadastre" enquiry); ibid., Cookson's Political No. 134, to Granville, dated Mar. 17, 1882, Enclosures 1-3; ibid., Malet's Political No. 150, to Granville, dated Mar. 28, 1882, Enclosure 1. Cf. Jurjī Zaidān, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-hadīth", 2nd. ed., vol. II, pp. 245-252.

65. J. Adam, op. cit., p. 53. L. Bréhier, op. cit., p. 206. Van Bemmeln, "L'Egypte et l'Europe", vol. II, p. 285.

66. F.O. 78/3436, Malet's Political No. 152, to Granville, dated Cairo, Mar. 28, 1882; ibid., Enclosure, being cutting from Le Moniteur Egyptien, Mar. 26-27, 1882.

67. On the activities of the Delegates in Cairo in May, 1882, and their attitude towards the antagonism between the Khedive Taufiq and al-Bārūdī's Council of Ministers see F.O. 78/3437, passim.

The Assembly of 1881-82 attempted in different ways to gain a greater degree of control over state affairs. Though it tried to keep on the best terms with the representatives of the European Powers in Egypt, it nevertheless sought to get control of the financial management of Egypt⁶⁸, which was the very thing the European creditors wanted to prevent. One of the motions debated was that the Government should present to the Assembly all its treaties with foreign Powers or contracts with the subjects of foreign Powers. Another significant suggestion, adopted by the Council of Ministers, was that the introductory formula of Governmental decrees should include the words "With the confirmation of the Assembly of ^{Delegates} ~~Notables~~" (wa-iqrār Majlis al-nuwwāb).

It is quite remarkable that an Assembly, composed for the most part of landed proprietors or influential and moneyed people⁶⁹ showed such an interest in the welfare

68.

Cf. Anon., "L'Egypte nouvelle le contrôle européen et le régime parlementaire", p.57 and passim.

69.

Al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'Urābiya", pp.259-262. An English resident in Egypt, "Egypt and constitutional rule", Nin.Cen., vol.XLI, 1882, p.543. E.Dicey, "England's intervention in Egypt", *ibid.*, vol.XII, 1882, pp.168-169. Van Bemmeln, *op.cit.*, vol.II, pp.285-286. N.Scotidis, *op.cit.*, pp.39-41.

of the population as a whole and displayed such foresight⁷⁰. It is no wonder that this Majlis paid so much attention to the proposal for its constitution.

This proposal for the constitution of the Majlis, drafted by Sharif Pasha, deserves more than a passing notice. Though Sharif Pasha had drafted similar liberal measures in the past, even the British Consul-General was not sure what Sharif's attitude would be in this instance⁷¹. All such doubts were dispelled when Sharif summarized the main points of his project before the Assembly (January 2, 1882)⁷². This project and

70.

Sir A. Colvin, "Memorandum on Egyptian Chamber", dated Cairo, Oct. 29, 1882 — a copy of which is enclosed in F.O. 78/3442, Malet's Political No. 756, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Oct. 30, 1882. Van Bemmeln, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 284-285. For a contradictory opinion see P. Giffard, "Les Français en Égypte", pp. 200-201; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 202 ss.

71.

F.O. 78/3324, Malet's Political No. 247, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 21, 1881, reporting a conversation with the Khedive and another with Sharif. Cf. F.O. 78/3325, Malet's Political No. 266, to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct. 2, 1881. See also J. Ninet, "Arabi Pasha", pp. 26-27. Ilyās Zakhūra, "Kitāb mir'āt al-ʿaṣr fī ta'rīkh wa-rusūm akābir al-rijāl bi-Miṣr", pp. 125 ss.

72.

Text in *Al-waqāʿi al-miṣriya*, Jan. 4, 1882, cit. in *al-Rāfiʿi*, "Al-thaura al-ʿurābiya," pp. 188-190. For a complete official French translation see Enclosure in F.O. 78/3434, Malet's Political No. 12, to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan. 9, 1882.

declaration were probably brought about by some pressure from 'Urābī's Group'⁷³.

The project, which contained forty-seven paragraphs⁷⁴, derived from that of 1879, with some noteworthy changes, mainly:

The delegates were to be elected for a period of four years (s 2);

The President of the Assembly was to be nominated by the Khedive, with the advice of the Ministers, from among the members of the Assembly (s 12);

The Ministers were to be responsible to the Assembly both singly and jointly (ss 18-19);

No tax whatever was to be imposed unless passed by the Assembly (s 28)⁷⁵.

73.

See below, part II, ch.II. Cf. also 'Urābī, op. cit., pp. 272-275. Morcos Sadek, "La constitution de l'Égypte", pp. 106-107.

74.

See App. 5.

75.

French official translation in "Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Égypte, 1881-1882" (Paris, 1882), Annexe to No. 14, Sienkiewicz's despatch to Gambetta, dated Cairo, Jan. 3, 1882, pp. 14-20.

Cf. ibid., pp. 38-49. See also van Bemmeln, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 263-264.

This project was in many ways quite liberal and progressive⁷⁶. Out of regard for the obligations of Egypt towards Foreign Powers, the Assembly could not vote the Budget; neither could it initiate laws nor discuss the tribute to the Porte. However, it still had a large share in the enactment of laws and in the imposition of taxes, as well as a measure of control over the Executive.

Sienkiewicz, Agent and Consul-General of the French Republic in Egypt, supplies us with some very interesting information about the Turkish Sultan's part in the framing of this project⁷⁷. Sienkiewicz reported that according to his sources—which, unfortunately, he did not mention—the Porte followed with attention the preparation of Sharif's project and warned him repeatedly

76.

F.O. 78/3434, Malet's Political No.2, to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan.2, 1882. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", pp.187-188. Th. Rothstein, op.cit., pp.143-145.

77.

"Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Égypte. 1881-1882" (Paris, 1882), No. 7, Sienkiewicz's despatch to Gambetta, dated Cairo, Dec.20, 1881, p.5.

not to grant the Majlis al-nuwwāb too extensive powers. If Sienkiewicz's information was correct, it is easy to understand the Sultan's apprehension of what might be the reaction to an Egyptian "Parliament" in Constantinople.

Notwithstanding the liberality of this project, the Assembly proposed some modifications, which were reported by Sultān Pasha to Sharīf Pasha, as mentioned above. The main amendments were:

each Assembly to last for five years;

if three months did not suffice for completing a session's work, it was to be prolonged for a period from 15 to 30 days;

if a delegate was imprisoned, the Assembly might obtain the suspension of action against him until the end of the session;

the Khedive was to nominate the President from three members proposed by the Assembly, and this appointment was to be for the whole five years;

any minister to whom a question had been directed must reply to the Assembly either in person or by proxy;

ministerial responsibility applied to individual action as well as to joint ministerial decisions;

the Assembly was to have the right to participate in the initiation of laws, in an advisory capacity;

the Assembly was to have the right of amendment, and might accept or reject any clause of a proposed law ;

the Budget was to be examined by the Assembly and not come into force until passed by it;

no treaty, contract or engagement of the Government with a third party was to be valid until ratified by the Assembly. ⁷⁸

The last two points are the most important ones. The voting of the Budget was a delicate subject, since the two controllers-General insisted very strongly, on behalf of Egypt's public creditors, that the Assembly should in no way interfere with the Budget. The invalidity of all treaties or contracts unratified by the Assembly meant a control over the Government's foreign policy to a degree unprecedented in Egypt. But it must be remembered that

78.

Complete official French translation in "Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Egypte, 1881-1882" (Paris, 1882), No.38, Sienkiewicz's despatch to Gambetta, dated Cairo, Jan.16,1882, Annexe 1, pp.38-49. Cf. F.O. 78/3434, Malet's Political Nos. 24,25,27, all to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan.16, 1882; *ibid.*, Malet's Political No.36, to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan.23,1882, and Enclosure; *ibid.*, Malet's Political Nos. 44 and 45 (the latter marked "Confidential"), both to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan.30,1882. See also B. Jerrold, *op.cit.*, pp.149-150. Morcos Sadek, *op.cit.*, pp.105-106. A. Biovès, *op.cit.*, pp.62 ss. Van Bemmeln, *op.cit.*, vol.II, pp.265-266.

the powers of the Egyptian Government were very great, and the Executive formed no part of the Assembly, and there was, therefore, a natural desire among the delegates to provide the Assembly with the powers to prevent the pursuit of a ruinous policy.

The decree signed by the Khedive on February 7, 1882 (Rabi' al-awwal 18, 1299)⁷⁹ conformed mainly to Sharif's 1881 project for the constitution of the Assembly, with certain alterations resulting from the observations submitted by Sultān Pasha. Most of Sultān's amendments

79.

See App.6. Text in Al-waqā'if al-misriya, Feb.9, 1882, cit. by al-Rāfi'i, "Asr Ismā'il", vol.II, pp.237-243. Also in Mahmūd Hasan al-Farīq, op. cit., part III, pp.139-149. Cf. B. Jerrold, op.cit., pp.147-149; ibid., pp.231-240, for an almost literal translation. Also Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", App.VI, pp.561-570, on which my App.6 is based. For French almost literal translations, see F.O. 78/3434, Malet's Political No.2, to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan.2, 1882, Enclosure. F.O.78/3435, Malet's Political No.65, to Granville, dated Cairo, Feb.13, 1882, Enclosure, which is a copy of the Moniteur Egyptien, 9th year, No.35, of Feb.10, 1882. "Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Egypte, 1881-1882" (Paris 1882), No.82, Sienkiewicz's despatch to de Freycinet, dated Cairo, Feb.12, 1882, Annexe 1, pp.130-137. Anon., "L'Egypte nouvelle le contrôle européen et le régime parlementaire", Annexe 6, pp.111-120. Cf. also Morcos Sadek, op.cit. pp.104-105. Ed. Planchut, "L'Egypte et l'occupation anglaise", pp.78-79. Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part.II, pp.7-8. For documentation on the various stages of the formation of this decree before publication, see the above-mentioned vol. of "Affaires étrangères", No.50, Sienkiewicz's despatch to Gambetta, dated Cairo, Jan.21, 1882, and Annexe, pp.66-79; cf. ibid., pp.97 ss.

were included in the Khedivial decree, even the supervision of the Budget, within limits (££ 31 ss.); but the Assembly was not granted the power to ratify the Government's treaties and contracts. Notwithstanding this and a few other limitations, the Khedivial decree was an important step forward in the Parliamentary history of modern Egypt, and established a series of rules which were to be a precedent for future laws regulating the relations between the Representative Institution and the Executive in Egypt.

This Khedivial decree was amplified by an Electoral Law (Qānūn al-intikhāb) in March, 1882. This law, which contained seventy paragraphs, was inspired by previous electoral laws in Egypt. Its main innovations were embodied in the first paragraph, viz., that every hundred electors were to vote for an elector-delegate who, in turn, would choose the delegate to the Assembly, the membership of which was also raised to 125⁸⁰. Thus the

80.

For the full French translation see Enclosure in F.O. 78/3436, Cookson's Political No.128, to Granville, dated Cairo, Mar.13,1882. Cf. al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-urābiya", pp.254-255. Van Bemmeln, op.cit., vol.II, p.285.

vote might be expected to indicate a fairer representation than by the constituencies system; besides, the increase in the number of the delegates would enable more shades of opinion to be represented in the Assembly.

The social structure of the Assembly of Delegates between the years 1866 and 1882 explains, in some measure, its success in securing these relatively liberal decrees of 1882.

In the first Assembly of 1866 there were 58 'Umda-s out of a total of 75 delegates⁸¹. If we exclude the 3 members for Cairo and the 2 for Alexandria, from which no 'Umda could possibly come, we have 58 'Umda-s out of a total of 70 rural delegates, i.e., 82.86%. The other members seem also to have been quite well off. Thus the first Majlis had a wealthy character, which continued to be predominant in the Assemblies of Ismā'īl's time.

81.

For the names of the delegates during 1866-1879 see al-Rāfi'i, "Asr Ismā'īl", vol.II, ch.13. For those of 1881-1882 see id., "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", pp.175-178.

The impression one receives is that everywhere in Egypt, the large towns excepted, the Government supported the 'Umda-s and other influential people for membership in the Majlis. This becomes even more obvious when we consider that in the Majlis of 1866 all 7 members for the district of al-Manūfiya, all 5 for al-Buḥaira, all 3 for al-Jīza, all 5 for Banū Suwaif and al-Fayyūm, as well as all 6 for al-Manīyā and Banū Muzār, were 'Umda-s, and they were all returned uncontested.

During the three years of the life of this Majlis, what few changes in membership there were recorded, were due to the death or resignation of members. Though some (but not many) of the former delegates were returned to the new Majlis of 1870, there was an even greater number of 'Umda-s, namely 64. Some changes in membership in 1871 were also in favour of the 'Umda-s, and the same happened again in 1873.

Few of these delegates appeared in the Majlis of 1876. This time, ^{the} 'Umda-s numbered only 53. The decrease of 'Umda-s (who could be expected to obey the orders of the Government), along with the greater experience of the Majlis and the daring demands of the army officers, were the factors which gave this Majlis a more independent character. Although there were some

'Umda-s who protested against the Khedive's financial policy and demanded its supervision, yet it appears from the protocols that most of the opponents of the Government were those few who were not 'Umda-s.

There were even fewer 'Umda-s in the Majlis elected at the end of 1881, most probably because the Government exercised less pressure; this, perhaps, helps to explain the self-assertion of the 1881-82 Assembly.

However, it must be remembered that this self-assertion was entirely on the part of a fraction of the Assembly of Delegates. There was only a limited number of members, twenty or twenty-five at the most, who, by their daring and their breadth of vision, were prominent in the debates throughout. These men were quite frequently elected to preside over the Aqlām and often chosen for the Lajna which had to draft the reply to the Khedive's Speech.

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CH. V. PARLIAMENTARY LIFE, 1883-1912.

Lord Dufferin, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, was sent to Egypt to reorganise its administrative machine. In his report, which has been reprinted many times, he drafted new suggestions on the functions of semi-parliamentary institutions in Egypt⁸².

The archives of the British Consulates in Egypt must have afforded Lord Dufferin much information, as is amply proved by their contents. If so, it is likely that he examined an interesting manuscript entitled "Memorandum on Egyptian Chamber" by Sir Auckland Colvin,

82.

The Arabic text of this new Organic Law is given by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, "Miṣr wa'l-Sūdān fī awā'il 'ahd al-ihtilāl", pp.217-238. Also by Mahmud Hasan al-Farīq, op. cit., part III, pp.150-182; for later amendments see ibid., pp.183 ss. Full English text of the law in Hertslet, "British and foreign state papers, 1882-3", vol.LXXIV, pp.1095-1103. On Lord Dufferin's project see A. Colvin, "The making of modern Egypt" (Nelson ed.), pp.38 ss. O.Borelli, "Choses politiques d'Égypte 1883-1895, p.7, 11.1, p.169, and pasim. G.L. Beer, "African questions at the Paris Peace Conference", pp.330-331. Ahmed Chafik, "L'Égypte moderne et les influences étrangères", p.135. A.Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati del Vicino Oriente", pp.46-53. Id., "Gli albori costituzionali in Egitto", Oriente Moderno, vol.III, 1923, pp.330-335. Joseph Achkar, op.cit., pp.150-152, 235-236. Amin Osman, op.cit., pp.75-76. El Sayed Sabry, "Le pouvoir législatif et le pouvoir exécutaire en Égypte étude critique de la constitution du 19 avril, 1923, dans les textes et dans la pratique", pp.16-17. Sheldon Amos, "The new Egyptian constitution", Con.Rev., vol.XLIII, June 1883, p.920; cf. ibid., pp.909-922. A.Hasenclever, op.cit., pp.389-391. Jurjī Zaidān, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-hadīth, 2nd.ed., vol.II, pp.326-327. C.Brockleman, "Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten," p.412.

sometime British Controller-General in Egypt⁸³.

In his memorandum, which probably was the basis of Lord Dufferin's report, Sir A. Colvin thought it advisable to create an institution, modelled on the Viceroy's Legislative Council in India, which "would frame and vote laws, but not initiate them; it would vote new taxes; it would not discuss the Budget unless new taxes were to be imposed, but it would annually be presented with a report explicative of the Budget; its sittings would be public and its discussions reported in the Official Moniteur. Its members would be 14, exclusive of the executive Council (one for each province). They would be elected by the Notables of the several provinces, by which I mean the Village Sheikhs, and by non-agriculturists, who are assessed annually over a certain minimum sum for professional tax. The term of office would ordinarily be two years; but they might be re-elected for a further period of two years. After that they would not be eligible for re-election for a period of two years."

83.

A copy of this Memorandum is enclosed in F.O. 78/3442, Malet's Political No. 756, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct. 30, 1882.

While preparing his report, Lord Dufferin was in continuous consultation with the Foreign Office in London. Moreover, he collected information about the work done by Majlis al-nuwwāb previously and about the general condition of Egypt. In an interesting report to Lord Granville, towards the end of the year 1882, Lord Dufferin outlined his investigations and some of his conclusions⁸⁴.

He had found a separate class of large land-owners of Ottoman descent, who were regarded as superior by the fallahin. Still he did not think the difference so great as to warrant the creation of a popular institution to restrict the interference of these Pashas in public affairs. The last Majlis al-nuwwāb seemed to him excitable and childish. A "Fallahin Parliament" would, besides, be a field of intrigue for the Porte, France and Italy. Then Dufferin suggested the repetition of the Representative experiment in India and made remarks somewhat similar to those contained in Colvin's memorandum.

84.

F.O. 78/3454, Dufferin's No. 7, to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 18, 1882.

In his final report, which became the new Organic Law in Egypt, Lord Dufferin suggested the creation of two semi-parliamentary institutions, a Legislative Council and a General Assembly, the second of which was to include the first.

The Legislative Council (Majlis shūrā' al-qawānīn) was to be composed of thirty members, fourteen of which, including the President and one of the Vice-Presidents, were to be nominated by the Khedive and his Ministers; these were to be permanent. The remaining sixteen, including the other Vice-President, were to be elected, for six years, by the Provincial Councils and by elector-delegates from the cities.

The Legislative Council was to meet on the first day of February, April, June, August and October of every year. Its powers were to be mainly consultative: it was expected to discuss legislation and the Budget, but it could not initiate legislation, and the Government could refuse to accept its advice. However, the Government had to explain to the Council the reasons for its refusal. The Legislative

Council would also have the right to ask the Ministers for details on all affairs affecting it⁸⁵.

The General Assembly (Al-ġam'īya al-'umūmīya) was to consist of eighty-two members and include the Ministers who composed the Khedive's Council, the members of the Legislative Council, and forty-six delegates chosen, for six years, by electors throughout Egypt. It was to be presided over by the President of the Legislative Council. Candidates to the General Assembly had to be over thirty years old, literate, and paying not less than

85.

F.O.78/3679, E.Baring's Political No.963, to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct.20,1884, and Enclosures. Cromer, "The situation in Egypt", pp.22 ss. Colvin, "The making of modern Egypt" (Nelson ed.), pp.44-45. Morcos Sadek, op.cit., pp.140-141. M.T. Symons, "The riddle of Egypt", pp.85-86. Th. Rothstein, op.cit., pp.235-237. Sheldon Amos, "The new Egyptian constitution", Con.Rev., vol.XLIII, June 1883, pp.909 ss. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil bā'ith al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniya", p.347. La Revue Egyptienne, vol.I, No.4, May 5, 1912, p.21, f.1. Aly Shamsy, op.cit., pp.12-13. Alfred Milner, "England in Egypt", 9th ed., pp.308-309. Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.10-12. Article "Ta'rikh al-sulṭa al-niyābiya fi'l-hukūma al-misriya", in Al-hilāl, vol.XVIII, Jan.1, 1910, pp.210-211. Article "Ta'rikh al-sulṭa al-tashri'īya fi'l-hukūma al-misriya", ibid., vol.XXII, Nov.1913, p.50.

£50 direct taxes a year. This Assembly would meet at least once in every two years.

The General Assembly, like the Legislative Council, was to have mainly advisory powers, but was, in general, to be consulted in more important matters than those brought before the latter. Besides, the vote of the Assembly was needed for any new tax. The Government had to ask the General Assembly's opinion on public loans, the building of canals and railways, and the classification of lands. If the Government rejected the General Assembly's advice, it had to give its reasons for rejection. Lastly, the General Assembly could discuss any matter whatsoever and offer advice thereon⁸⁶.

86.

Cromer, "The situation in Egypt", pp.22 ss. Colvin, "The making of modern Egypt" (Nelson ed.) pp.44-45. Morcos Sadek, op.cit., pp.145-146. M.T.Symons, op.cit., pp.86-87. Th.Rothstein, op.cit., pp.235-237. Sheldon Amos, op.cit., pp.909-922. Aly Shamsy, op.cit., pp.12-13. Milner, op.cit., pp.311-312. J. Alexander, "The truth about Egypt", pp.88-90. Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.11-12. Questions and answers on "Al-jam'īya al-'umūmiya", in Al-hiṭāl, vol.XV, July 1907, pp.567-568. Article "Ta'rīkh al-sulṭa al-niyābiya fī'l-hukūma al-misriya", ibid., vol.XVIII, Jan.1, 1910, pp.210-211. Article "Ta'rīkh al-sulṭa al-tashri'īya fī'l-hukūma al-misriya", ibid., vol.XXII, Nov.1913, p.90.

Liberal remuneration was provided. The members of the Legislative Council and General Assembly received allowances on different scales. The fourteen appointed members of the Legislative Council (including the President and Vice-President) as well as the elected member for Cairo each received £E-90 a year, for "carriage money". Each of the other fifteen elected members received £E-250 a year for his residence in Cairo. In addition, every one of the latter received a fixed sum to cover the expense of a monthly railway journey from his home to Cairo and back. In the 1893 Budget, these allowances amounted to £E-5,367. The members of the General Assembly were reimbursed for their railway expenses to Cairo and back and paid £E-1 per day for their residence in Cairo, up to eight days.⁸⁷ On the whole, these remunerations were quite generous, considering the low cost of living in Cairo at the time.

87.

Cf. Tigrane's letter No. 352 to Lord Cromer, dated Cairo, Apr. 24, 1893, copy of which is Enclosure in F.O. 78/4514, Cromer's No. 79, to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Apr. 25, 1893.

The powers conferred on the Legislative Council and General Assembly were not very large. Even though the General Assembly might refuse to vote taxes, in practice the Government was able to get money in other ways. The large number of appointed members, plus the fact that the poor had no vote and the rich were usually favourable to the Government, made it comparatively easy for the latter to sway the vote. And even if the vote went against it, the Government could always disregard the advice of the Legislative Council or General Assembly and find some reason or other for rejecting it⁸⁸.

Still, crippled as they were, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly were the only parliamentary institutions in Egypt under the Occupation. They functioned regularly from 1883 to 1912. During these thirty years, the Legislative Council had seven different Presidents⁸⁹. All of them were Pashas connected with the Khedive's Court, one of them being even a Prince, Husain Kāmil (President during 1909-1910). Thus the Khedivial circle could influence the proceedings of the Legislative Council through its President.

88.

Cf. on this point the mocking attitude of Hans Delbrück, "England und Aegypten", in Preussische Jahrbücher, vol. CXLVI, 1911, p. 295.

89.

For their names and years of office see note on "Ru'asā' majlis shūrā' al-qawānīn" in Al-hilāl, vol. XXII, Oct. 1, 1913, p. 80; and article on "Ta'rīkh al-sultā al-tashrī'īya fi'l-hukūma al-misrīya", ibid., Nov. 1913, pp. 82 and 91.

In June, 1883, the lists of electors were completed, the number of the electors being 903,395 out of a total population of some 6,800,000; i.e., 13.28%, or less than a seventh, of the population⁹⁰. On May 1, 1883 (Jumādā al-ākhira 24, 1300) the Khedive appointed Sultān Pasha President of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly⁹¹.

90.

Cf. Enclosure in F.O. 78/3555, Malet's Political No. 248, to Granville, dated Cairo, June 22, 1883. On the elections of 1883 see also the *Moniteur Egyptien*, 10th year, No. 197, Oct. 24, 1883, being Enclosure in F.O. 78/3557, Malet's Political No. 372, to Granville, dated Cairo, Aug. 25, 1883. Cf. also the *Moniteur Egyptien* of Sept. 4, 1883, being Enclosure in F.O., *ibid.*, Malet's Political No. 396, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 6, 1883. *Ibid.*, Baring's Political Nos. 409 and 410, both to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 18, 1883.

91.

F.O. 78/3559, Baring's Political No. 519, to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 18, 1883. *Ibid.*, Baring's Political No. 531, to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 20, 1883, and Enclosure. For the decree appointing the 13 permanent members in the Legislative Council cf. *ibid.*, Enclosure in Baring's Political No. 537, to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 22, 1883. For the decree nominating the two Vice-Presidents of the first Legislative Council as well as for the list of its members see *Supplément au No. 272 du Moniteur Egyptien*, dated Nov. 24, 1883, being Enclosure in F.O., *ibid.*, Baring's Political No. 554, to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 26, 1883. For the names of the members of the first Legislative Council see al-Rāfi'ī "Miṣr wa'l- Sūdān etc.," pp. 51-52; for its official inauguration cf. *ibid.*, pp. 52-54; for the names of those returned in 1889 cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

In the first nine years of their existence, the two new institutions, and particularly the Legislative Council, did some useful work, and the Government, more than once, accepted their advice in whole or in part. It often consulted members of the Legislative Council unofficially⁹². But, in general, the members of these institutions were apathetic during this stage, more often than not just approving what the most prominent amongst them suggested⁹³.

The general spirit of the debates and the advice offered to the Government, involved as they were with religious conceptions, must have seemed very strange to the British who were ruling the affairs of Egypt. Lord (then Sir Alfred) Milner could not understand why the Legislative Council suggested in 1890 that certain classes

92.

F.O.78/3679, Baring's Political No.963, to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct.20,1884, and Enclosures. F.O.78/3799, Baring's Political No.82, to Granville, dated Cairo, Jan.26, 1885. Contrast to al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", p.347.

93.

For a striking example see F.O.78/4235, Baring's No. 21, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.8,1889. Enclosure is report on the meeting of the Legislative Council on Dec.22,1888, being a cutting from the Journal Officiel of Jan.5,1889.

of criminals should be maimed or crucified⁹⁴.

But from 1892 onwards the Legislative Council and the General Assembly were more experienced in legislation, and had acquired more confidence in their own abilities. The example of the new Khedive's opposition to the British inspired them to follow suit⁹⁵. In December, 1892, the Legislative Council refused to discuss the Budget for 1893, on the plea that it had not been presented sufficiently in advance of its publication⁹⁶. This refusal, which however could not and

94.

Milner, *op.cit.*, pp.310-311; cf. *Journal Officiel*, June 16, 1890, being Enclosure in F.O. 78/4310, Baring's No.201, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, June 19, 1890. More generally, see about the debates of the Legislative Council on taxes and agriculture in 1886, F.O. 78/3931, Baring's No.474, to Iddesleigh, dated Cairo, Nov.22, 1886, and Enclosure. On those of 1887 see F.O. 78/4050, Baring's No.587, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.25, 1887. For the activities of the Legislative Council in 1888 cf. F.O. 78/4235, Baring's Nos.21 and 24, both marked "Confidential", both to Salisbury, dated, respectively, Cairo, Jan.8 and 9, 1889, and Enclosures. For the debates on taxation at the meeting of this Council on Dec.2, 1890, see *Journal Officiel*, Feb.18, 1891, being Enclosure 1 in F.O. 78/4383, Baring's No.41, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.19, 1891. For some internal decrees approved by the Legislative Council cf. F.O. 78/4386, Hardinge's No. 166, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, July 14, 1891, and Enclosures.

95.

For Cromer's statement that the Khedive 'Abbās Hilmi encouraged the members of the Legislative Council to protest against the whole system of British administration in Egypt, see F.O. 78/4669, Cromer's No.146, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.2, 1895.

96.

On these debates, as reported in the *Journal Officiel* of Jan.2, 1893, see Enclosure in F.O.78/4513, Cromer's No.2, to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Jan.3, 1893.

did not prevent the Government from publishing its proposed Budget, was the first of a long series of signs of opposition⁹⁷.

In December 1893, and in many of the succeeding years, the Legislative Council objected to what it considered the large sums spent on the Occupation Army, thus indirectly criticising the Occupation. In 1896, it protested at not being consulted about the expenditure on the Sudan campaign⁹⁸. On the other hand it advocated time and again the allocation of larger funds for the furtherance of education. It also tried to assert its

97.

For the Legislative Council's financial criticism in December 1894, cf. the News section in Al-muqtataf, vol. XIX, Jan.1, 1895, p.78.

98.

Contrast, however, F.O.78/4956, Cromer's No.37 (Annual Report for 1897), to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.27, 1898; and F.O. 78/5022, Cromer's No.36 (Annual Report for 1898), to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.26, 1899. The submissiveness of the Legislative Council on these occasions was probably due to the great force shown by the British in the conquest of the Sudan; in the second instance the disappointment over France's public renunciation of Fashoda might have contributed to it.

rights in various other ways, often with a spirit of animosity towards the British Occupation⁹⁹.

Between 1899 and 1902 the President of the Legislative Council was Ismā'īl Muḥammad Pasha, a personal friend of Muṣṭafā Kāmil¹⁰⁰. He undoubtedly contributed to this spirit of opposition to the Government, which was beginning to crystallise in the Legislative Council and, to a lesser extent, in the General Assembly.

99.

F.O. 78/4453, Cromer's No.210, marked "Confidential", to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Dec.18,1892, and Enclosures. F.O. 78/4514, Cromer's No.79, to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Apr.25,1893, Enclosure. F.O.78/4516, Cromer's No.214, to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Dec.24,1893, and Enclosures. For the debates of the Legislative Council on the Budget on Dec.19, 1894, published in the Journal Officiel of Dec.31, 1894, see Enclosure 1 in F.O.78/4668, Cromer's No.1, to Kimberley, dated Cairo, Jan.2,1895. For later years of. F.O.78/4669 Cromer's No. 146, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.2, 1895, and Enclosure. F.O. 78/4956, Cromer's No. 37 (Annual Report for 1897), to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.27, 1898. F.O. 78/5022, Cromer's No.36 (Annual Report for 1898) to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.26,1899. Journal Officiel, June 12, 1899, being Enclosure in F.O.78/5023. Cromer's No. 108, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, June 13,1899. F.O.78/5086, Cromer's No.34 (Annual Report for 1899) to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.20, 1900. See also Al-Rāfi'ī, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", pp.347-351. K.Hron, "Ägypten und die ägyptische Frage", p.172.

100.

Al-Rāfi'ī; *ibid*, pp.349-350.

Another and more prominent personality in the Legislative Council at that time was al-Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh. This man, one of the most remarkable personalities of Islam, was appointed to the Legislative Council on June 25, 1899. He soon acquired a considerable degree of influence, and there was hardly a Committee of the Council to which he was not elected. Often striving to find a middle way when the Government and the Legislative Council differed, he did his best to inspire in the members of the Legislative Council a sense of dignity and responsibility for the common good¹⁰¹.

It was in no small part due to Muhammad 'Abduh that the Legislative Council began to appreciate its true importance.

Until the turn of the century, the Legislative Council was mainly composed of two elements. The first represented the old Turkish class, fast disappearing, but still retaining much wealth and power. This group,

101.

Hasan 'Abd al-Rāziq, "Al-Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh ishtighālūhū fī Majlis al-shūrā", in *Al-Muqtataf*, vol. XXX, Dec. 1, 1905, pp. 985-987. 'Uthmān Amin, "Muhammad 'Abduh", pp. 117-118. B. Michel et M. Abdel Razik, "Rissalat al tawhid, exposé de la religion musulmane", Introduction, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII.

predominantly Muslim, was far from pleased with the disappearance of their privileges, and consequently were antagonistic to the Occupation. The non-Turkish element was less inimical to the British because it benefited more from the Occupation, but ~~it~~ was generally influenced by the former group, the Turkish families having more experience in political affairs and more funds to back up this experience¹⁰². This influence gradually diminished with the spread of education.

It is remarkable what an important part religious feeling and convictions played in the debates and votes of the Legislative Council, in the first two decades of its existence. An example for 1890 has been given above. That was by no means an exception. It was often sufficient for a speaker to base his argument on the religious law, in order to carry all the Muslim members of the Legislative Council with him.¹⁰³

102.

F.O.78/4453, Cromer's No.210, marked "Confidential", to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Dec.18, 1892.

103.

Cf. for an earlier example (Dec.27, 1888), dealing with changes in the position of the employees of the Waqf administration, F.O.78/4235, Baring's No.24, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.9, 1889, and Enclosure.

For instance, in the meeting of the Legislative Council on May 10, 1899, a project was submitted to it, suggesting various reforms in the Mahākim^{shar'īya} or Religious Courts. The Prime Minister of Egypt and several of his colleagues, including the Minister of Justice and the Judicial Adviser, attended this meeting. They pointed out that the proposed reforms were by no means contrary to the law of Islam. Nevertheless, an acrimonious debate followed, in which the project was bitterly attacked by several Muslim members, foremost among whom was the Grand Mufti of Egypt. When the project was put to the vote, the Muslims voted unanimously against it, very few abstaining¹⁰⁴. This solidarity of the Muslim members in the Legislative Council on points affecting religion is all the more noteworthy, considering their usual divergence in political, economic or social matters.

104.

Journal Officiel, June 12, 1899, being Enclosure in F.O. 78/5023, Cromer's No. 108, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, June 13, 1899. Cf. F.O. 78/5086, Cromer's No. 34 (Annual Report for 1899), to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb. 20, 1900.

The Anglo-French Entente of April, 1904, which virtually left Great Britain a free hand in Egypt, must have been a severe blow for many of the members of the semi-parliamentary institutions of Egypt. This is the only plausible explanation for the fact that, at the end of the year 1904, the Legislative Council approved the Budget for the following year without demur. In 1905, it showed complete submission to the Government and did not even protest after the Danishwāi Judgments of 1906¹⁰⁵.

However, the severity of the judgments on the villagers, along with the relentless Anglophobe propaganda of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's Group, which reached its peak in 1907, caused much discontent in Egypt. The interest aroused by the Danishwāi case can be seen in the newspapers of the time, as well as in special publications¹⁰⁶. The somewhat disorderly character of the General

105.

Al-Rāfi'ī, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", p.352.

106.

A pamphlet in Turkish, Arabic, Persian and Urdu was published in Constantinople and diffused in Egypt (6 pp. and 6 photographs; undated); its Arabic name was "Khulāṣat wāqī'at Danishwāi". In 1907, Mahmud Ṭāhir Haqqī published a work on the Danishwāi Incident, entitled "Adhrā' Dānishwāi" — cf. L.B. ⁷ = L. Bouvat, "La vierge de Denchawāi", in R.M.M., vol.IV, No.1, Jan.1908, pp.108-109. Brockelmann, G.A.L., Suppl.III, p.229. In 1908, a book, "Ḥādithat Danishwāi", appeared in Cairo (160pp. and many photographs). I have been unable to consult the latter, which is mentioned in Al-hilāl, vol.XVI, May 1, 1908, p.503.

Assembly in that year reflected this dissatisfaction. Its session, which lasted for four days, considered eighty-five proposals and petitions, rejecting not less than thirty-one. The spirit of the debates was often anti-British, as some of the resolutions show:

Release of the Danishwāi prisoners;
 a constitution and representative government;
 regulation of all market prices by the
 Government;
 Egyptians to be in all the high official
 posts;
 an Egyptian municipality for Cairo;
 protest against the high cost of education;
 Arabic to be the only official language;
 greater freedom for Egyptian pilgrims to
 the Holy Places;
 reform of the Religious Courts;
 a protest against the use of English
 sovereigns as coinage;
 concessions to foreign companies to cease¹⁰⁷.

✓ See 107, p.85

107.

J. Alexander, *op.cit.*, p.91; cf. *ibid.*, pp.88-93. There is but scanty material for the earlier activities of the General Assembly. For a Khedivial decree, dated Nov.30, 1887, published in the *Journal Officiel* on Dec.3, 1887, convoking the General Assembly for Dec.24, 1887, see Enclosure in F.O.78/4049, Baring's No. 546, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.4, 1887. For the opening speech of the President of the General Assembly on that occasion, published in the *Journal Officiel* on Dec.26, 1887, see Enclosure in F.O. 78/4050, Baring's No.593, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.27, 1887. For the official publication of the sanction given by the General Assembly to an increase in the taxation on tobacco grown in Egypt, cf. Enclosure in F.O.78/4142, Baring's No.4, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.2, 1888. For the official decree proroguing this session of the General Assembly, see Enclosure in *ibid.*, Baring's No.5, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.2, 1888. For the procès-verbal of the proceedings of the commission appointed by the General Assembly to examine the problem of the taxes on tobacco see Enclosure in *ibid.*, Baring's No.25, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.12, 1888.

For the opening of the General Assembly on Dec.15, 1889, and for the Khedive's opening speech, cf. F.O. 78/4243, Baring's No.411, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.17, 1889, and Enclosures. For the Khedive's speech opening the session of the General Assembly on Dec.15, 1891, as published in the *Journal Officiel* on Dec.16, 1891, cf. Enclosure in F.O. 78/4388, Baring's No. 295, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.17, 1891. For alterations in the rates of the land-tax decided upon by this Assembly on Dec.19, 1891, as reported in the *Journal Officiel* of Dec.23, 1891 and Jan.2, 1892, see Enclosures in F.O.78/4449, Baring's No.4, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.3, 1892. For the opening of the General Assembly on Feb.6, 1894, cf. *Journal Officiel*, Feb.7, 1894, being Enclosure in F.O.78/4574, Hardinge's No.27, to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Feb.7, 1894. For the elections to the 1896 General Assembly and the Khedive's opening speech cf. the News section in *Al-muqtataf*, vol.XX, Mar.1896, p.236. For the Khedive's speech opening the session of the General Assembly in Feb. 1898, see *Journal Officiel* of Feb.12, 1898, enclosed in F.O. 78/4956, Rennell Rodd's No.33, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb. 13, 1898.

The real handicap of the semi-parliamentary institutions in Egypt at the time was not so much their limited rights, but the lack of competent leadership (after Muhammad 'Abduh's death in 1905) and the appalling apathy of the people. According to the well-informed estimate of Lord Cromer in 1908, there were in Cairo 134,000 male adult Egyptians entitled to vote. Of these only 34,000 registered, of whom only 1,500 voted, i.e., 1.1% of the total number qualified. In Alexandria, out of 70,000 persons qualified, only 14,000 registered; of these only 750 voted, i.e., slightly more than 1%¹⁰⁸. The indifference of the villages must have been greater still, so that the oppositionist elements in the Legislative Council and the General Assembly felt that they had hardly any popular backing in their fight against the Occupation.

This indifference could not but be reflected in the semi-parliamentary institutions. Thus journalists

108.

Cromer, "The situation in Egypt", p.25; cf. *ibid.*, pp.22, 26. See also J. Alexander, *op.cit.*, pp.137, 151-152, based on Sir Eldon Gorst's Report. Diaeddine Saleh, *op.cit.*, pp.179-180. H.H. Fyfe, "The new spirit in Egypt", p.130.

and others who attended the first public session of the Legislative Council in 1909 were struck by the apathy of most of the members, and how few took part in the discussions.

The debated problems included the Deportation Law, the Stock Exchange Law, the length of sessions, and education schemes. Particular attention was devoted to the proposed reform of the Provincial Councils, many suggestions for amendment being made. A special committee prepared a long minute, defending the Legislative Council against the critical remarks levelled at it by Sir Eldon Gorst in his yearly Report¹⁰⁹.

All the matters discussed in the General Assembly in 1910 were overshadowed by the proposed extension of the Suez Canal Concession. The offer of the Suez Canal Company held important financial advantages to the Government of Egypt, and the Khedive's Ministers and their British advisers thought it a fair one. Nevertheless, Al-liwā', the organ of Al-hizb al-waṭanī, and other groups, attacked the project violently when they got wind of it, their main argument being that it would defer the date of Egypt's independence.

109.

J. Alexander, *op.cit.*, pp.252-256.

Amidst high public feeling, the Legislative Council convened in October, 1909, a large unofficial meeting consisting of themselves and members of the General Assembly, the Provincial Councils and the Municipalities. As a result of this meeting, which was held in private, telegrams were sent to the Khedive, his Ministers and Sir Eldon Gorst, asking them to decide nothing about the project until the official meeting of the General Assembly.

The Council of Ministers, headed by Butrus Ghālī Pasha¹¹⁰, then decided to call a special meeting of the General Assembly to study the project. They undoubtedly desired to shield themselves from the abuse of the native Press by having the project duly ratified by the General Assembly. And should the vote be negative, the Ministers still could disregard it.

110.

For Butrus Ghālī's life and assassination, see article "Butrus Bāshā Ghālī", in *Al-hiṭāl*, vol. XVIII, Mar. 1, 1910, pp. 369-377, and corrections, *ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1910, p. 433. For the trial of his murderer cf. Anwar Ahmad, "Muḥākamāt min ta'rīkh Miṣr awwal ighṭiyāl siyāsī fī Miṣr" in *Al-muṣawwar*, No. 1257, Nov. 12, 1948, pp. 30-31, 34.

From February 9 to April 4, 1910, the General Assembly debated almost exclusively this project for the extension of the Canal Concession. There were passionate speeches against it and, when put to the vote, the opposing majority was so great that the whole transaction was abandoned. It was the first severe blow to Government-by-advice in Egypt, for the Government had yielded to the Assembly in an extremely important financial matter¹¹¹.

111.

J. Alexander, op.cit., pp.251, 283-289, 298-308, 324-329. Article on "Al-sulṭa al-niyābiya fī'l-ḥukūma al-miṣriya wa-mas'alat qanāt al-Suwais" in Al-ḥiṭāṭ, vol. XVIII, May 1, 1910, pp.493-494. Article on "Ta'rīkh al-sulṭa al-tashrī'iya fī'l-ḥukūma al-miṣriya", ibid., vol. XXII, Nov. 1913, pp.90-91. Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥawāliyat Miṣr al-siyāsiya", "Tamhīd, vol. I., p.35. Muḥammad Ṣabī, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-ḥadīth min Muḥammad 'Alī itā' #l-yaum", p.237. Sir Maurice S. Amos, "England and Egypt", reprinted from The Trader and Citizen, Nottingham, 1929, pp.15-16. P.G. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", pp.193-194. M.T. Symons, op.cit., p.87. See also H.H. Fyfe, op.cit., pp.127-132; contrast with Morcos Sadek, op.cit., pp.142 ss.

In 1911, the session of the Legislative Council was marked by lively debates on whether Shaikh al-Azhar was to be appointed by the Khedive or elected by the students of al-Azhar. The issue was not only religious and educational, but a political one as well. The Khedive's adherents, however, carried the day¹¹².

The General Assembly, which met from March 25 to April 1, in 1912, was opened with a long speech by the Khedive, in which he enumerated the improvements that had been effected in education, the organisation of Provincial Councils, in agriculture, communications, taxation, public security, justice and administration. He ended by announcing that his Government was busily engaged in trying to find a way to improve the representative regime in Egypt¹¹³.

The General Assembly heard the reply of the Government to the 160 suggestions which it had voted two years before. An increasing compliance to the will of the Assembly was to be noted, as well as fuller

112.

"News from Egypt" — probably contributed by W.S. Blunt — in Egypt a monthly record of Egyptian and Near Eastern news, vol. I, No. 3, May 1911, p. 21.

113.

Incomplete text in Al-hilāl, vol. XX, Apr. 1, 1912, pp. 434-436.

explanations as to why some of its motions were rejected. As a result of the work of the session, another set of suggestions, amounting to 160, was submitted to the Government.¹¹⁴

Between the years 1905 and 1912 a desire for the enlargement of the rights of these institutions was manifest. On June 14, 1905, Shaikh 'Alī Yūsuf, speaking in the General Assembly, suggested that the Government endow Egypt with true representative institutions. Thereby the Government would have the benefit of the experience of those members who were specialists in certain branches of government and whose expert knowledge was not at present given adequate scope for employment. On March 2, 1907, he made a similar appeal to 'Abbās II Hilmī for the creation of a really effective Assembly. He pointed out that the representative bodies had not kept pace with the progress of other institutions in Egypt. The Government's reply to this was hardly encouraging: 'Alī Yūsuf was told that the problem was too important to be dealt with by the General Assembly¹¹⁵.

114.

"Egypt", a monthly record of Egyptian and Near Eastern news, vol.II, No.2, Apr.1912, p.18. Cf. Bellerose, "Bulletin politique", in La Revue égyptienne, vol.I, No.4, May 5, 1912, pp.21-22.

115.

Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.181-182. J.Alexander, op.cit., p.90.

A delegation, composed of members of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly, went to London in July, 1908, to present the British Government with a programme of reforms. In December of the same year, the Legislative Council voted unanimously for the creation of an elected Assembly which would direct the local administration.

Soon afterwards, in February 1909, the General Assembly voted a list of suggestions, among which figured the one adopted by the Legislative Council in December of the previous year. Another requested that the General Assembly should be convened yearly and not every second year. From that time, up to 1912, the semi-parliamentary institutions fought to obtain a greater share in the administration of the country, often taxing the patience of the Ministers with their questions¹¹⁶.

The Legislative Council and the General Assembly were by no means the guardians of the people's rights: they represented only a small part of the population, and

116.

Georges Samné et Y.M. Goblet, "La vie politique orientale en 1909", pp.207-209. Diaeddine Saleh, op. cit., pp.182-183. P.G. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", p.193.

then only of the privileged classes. Still, these bodies, which were essentially consultative, gave diverse proofs of sagacity and self-assertion, and were insistent in their demands for larger powers. More attention was gradually paid to the advice given by the Legislative Council and General Assembly, and eventually a new body with greater rights was created to supersede them. It was the Legislative Assembly.

.....

CH. VI. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Sir Eldon Gorst, the British Consul-General in Egypt from 1907-1911, maintained a friendly attitude towards the Khedive, which afforded the Anglophobe elements in Egypt grounds for attacking the British, whom they accused of encouraging a despotic rule to the detriment of representative institutions¹¹⁷. Kitchener, Gorst's successor, moved by these accusations and the insistent demands for truer representation, decided on the experiment of a more popular Assembly.

On July 1, 1913, an Organic Law and an Electoral Law defined the powers of the new Legislative Assembly (Jam'īya tashrī'īya). This Assembly was to include, besides the Ministers, 66 elected members, and 17 other members nominated by the Government. Nomination was continued, in order to enable the small communities and the professions to have a minimum representation: the

117.

P.G. Elgood, "The Transit of Egypt", p.206.
Id., "Egypt", p.107.

Copts were always to have four members, the Bedouins three, the merchants two, the doctors two, the engineers one; educational groups two, and municipal interest one.

The Government appointed the President of the Legislative Assembly and the senior Vice-President. The mandate of the members was for six years, a third of the Assembly being replaced every two years. This last clause might have been drawn on the pattern of the Senate in the United States of America.

No law could be promulgated without first being presented for the advice of the Legislative Assembly. No new tax could be decreed without the vote of the Assembly. The Legislative Assembly had the right to express its Opinion on the measures of the Government or formulate Projects of its own. The Assembly might accept, amend or reject any proposal of the Government; in case of disagreement, the matter was postponed for fifteen days, and if no agreement was reached by then, the Government might either prorogue the Legislative Assembly or publish the law, provided it explained to the Assembly its reasons. The Civil List, the Tribute to the Porte, the Public Debt, and all obligations towards foreign Powers could not be discussed in the Assembly. The meetings were to be public.

The electoral law provided for indirect balloting. About two million people were on the electoral register. Every fifty voters over twenty years old had the right to choose an elector-delegate aged "thirty or over", who, in turn, chose an elected member of the Legislative Assembly. The latter had to be at least thirty-five years of age, literate, and paying a certain amount of taxes¹¹⁸.

118.

Arabic text of the Organic Law in Mahmūd Hasan al-Farīq, op.cit., part III, pp.72-98; Arabic text of the Electoral Law ibid, pp.99-120. French official text of these laws in E.C. Blech, "British and foreign state papers, 1913", vol.CVI, pp.927-952. See also R. Lambelin, "L'Egypte et l'Angleterre", pp.102-104. G.L. Beer, op.cit., pp.331-332. Lloyd, "Egypt since Cromer", vol.i, pp.139-142. Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", pp.174-175. W.B. Worsfold, "The future of Egypt", pp.129-133. E.M. Forster, "Egypt", pp.4, 9. Aly Shamsy, op.cit., p.13. P.G. Elgood, "The Transit of Egypt", pp.206-207. Id., "Egypt", pp.107-108. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.184-185; cf. ibid., pp.486-488. Amin Osman, op.cit., pp.76-77. A. Hasenclever, op.cit., pp.489-490. C. Brockelmann, "Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten", pp.412-413. 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, "Sa'd Zaghālūl sirā wa-tahīya", pp.151 ss. Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.16 ss. Article "Ta'rikh al-sulta al-tashrī'iya", in Al-hilāl, vol.XXII, Nov.1913, p.91.

The elections passed off quietly. The interest shown by the people has been variously reported¹¹⁹, and it would seem that there was less apathy than previously. On October 26, 1913, when the first degree balloting took place, the percentage of the registered electors who went to the polls was 15.39 in Aswān and 20.09 in Girga; yet in Cairo it was only 6.69 and in Alexandria only 4.98¹²⁰. These results show, of course, that the fallahin took advantage of the new Electoral Law. It was no mere chance that forty-nine out of the sixty-six elected members were landowners¹²¹.

until these elections, candidates had never announced their programme, but relied on intrigues or recommendations in high quarters. Sa'd Zaghālūl was amongst the first, possibly the very first, to outline a well-defined programme of the measures he would strive to achieve:

119.

Worsfold, op.cit., pp.198-199. S.A. Moseley, "With Kitchener in Cairo", p.68. For a contrary opinion see Aly Shamsy, op.cit., p.22.

120.

Worsfold, op.cit., p.199.

121.

Figures given by Lloyd, op.cit., vol.I, p.142.

- (1) Correction of irregularities in the Courts of Law.
- (2) Equal opportunity of education for all classes.
- (3) Enactment of a free press law.
- (4) Enactment of laws providing for improvements in the cleaning, lighting and paving of the streets of Cairo.
- (5) Improvement of the condition of the agricultural classes, by assuring them higher profits from their cotton and other products¹²².

The example was followed by other candidates, notably by Murqus Simeikha Bey, a well-known Copt, who had formerly been a member of the Legislative Council.

122.

E.M., in *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. II, No. 1, June 6, 1914, p. 68. Worsfold, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.
 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.
 Diaeddine Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

This European practice was thus introduced to Egypt, and has since become customary for elections to representative institutions.

The Council of Ministers, headed by Muḥammad Sa'īd Pasha, appointed Maẓlūm Pasha President of the Legislative Assembly. The latter, which had the right to choose its second Vice-President itself, elected Sa'īd Zaḡhlūl almost unanimously. The session began on January 1 and ended on June 17, 1914¹²³.

After electing its sub-commissions (Lijān), the Legislative Assembly debated various matters: an organisation for agricultural help (shirkat al-ta'āwun al-zirā'īya), the draining of swamps, Kitchener's famous law of the Five Feddens (Qānūn khamsat al-afdina), the reform of examinations, the creation of a high school for commerce, the encouragement of the Arabic theatre in Egypt, the legal age for marriage, and similar questions. The Government accepted the advice of the Legislative Assembly in a great many instances.

123.

For an account of the opening of this session (including the Khedive's Speech), cf. article on "Al-jam'īya al-tashrī'īya," in *Al-muqtataf*, vol. XLIV, Feb. 1, 1914, pp. 173-175.

In the debates, Zaghlūl and his followers were much more prominent than their opponents, who had either been nominated or elected because of their local influence and wealth. Though a minority, Zaghlūl's followers formed a solid block. Desirous of securing and enlarging the rights of the Legislative Assembly, angry at the disregard shown by the Government to their advice, Zaghlūl and his followers baited Ministers in every legal way. Zaghlūl, who had been himself a Minister, knew well the foibles of the Government and harassed them with questions and invective¹²⁴

124.

Article "Al-tamthīl al-‘arabī wa-jatīq Abiad", in Al-hilāl, vol.XXII, Apr.1,1914, p.559. Ibrāhīm Ramzī on "Al-tamthīl al-‘arabī", ibid., vol.XXXII, Mar.1,1924, p.640. Article "Sa‘d Zaghlūl Bāshā Za‘īm al-nahda al-waṭaniya al-miṣriya", ibid., vol.XXIX, May 1,1921, p.735. E.M., in Die Welt des Islams, vol.II, Nos.2-4, Dec.15,1914, pp.334-335. ‘Abbās Mahmūd al-‘Aqqād, op. cit., pp.458 ss. R.Lambelin, op.cit., p.105. P.G. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", p.207. Lloyd, op. cit., vol.I, pp.142-143. Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", p.177. For examples of Zaghlūl's speeches and attacks on the Ministers in the Legislative Assembly, see "Kalimāt mukhtāra li-Sa‘d Zaghlūl Bāshā", in Al-hilāl, vol. XXIX, May 1,1921, pp.738 ss. Zakī Fahmī, op.cit., p.137.

The Legislative Assembly was really a merger of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly, and had practically the same powers and limitations¹²⁵. However, the electorate which it represented was greater. Then, the number of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly was not only relatively larger (two-thirds as against one-half, approximately), but much stronger (sixty-six), thus representing more Egyptians.

This larger representation was also evident in the fact that the nominated members were appointed with a view to their representing small groups which had not much hope with the electorate. Thus more sections of the community came into contact with public affairs and their management.

While the Legislative Assembly still remained mainly consultative, its members were brought much closer to the Government by the fact that the advice offered was debated conjointly with the Council of Ministers. In the words of the jurist who framed the constitution of Legislative Assembly at Kitchener's request: this Assembly

125.

On its limitations, cf. E.M. in *Die Welt des Islams*, vol.II, No.1, June 6, 1914, p.68.

was "considered an improvement on the former system, and "was a modest and cautious advance in the direction of a "more democratic system of government"¹²⁶. Notwithstanding the bickerings in the Legislative Assembly, the advance of which Mc Ilwraith spoke was plainly obvious in the interest which this body showed in the prosperity of the Country.¹²⁷

126.

M. McIlwraith, "A decade of Egyptian politics," *Con.Rev.*, vol.CXLII, Aug.1932, p.176. See also Worsfold, *op.cit.*, pp.129-132. Lloyd, *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.140-143. Sidney Low, "Egypt in transition", pp.244-245; cf.*id.*, "Lord Kitchener's Egypt", *Fortnightly Rev.*, vol. XCIV, Oct.1, 1913, p.646. Diaeddine Saleh, *op.cit.*, p.185. Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati del Vicino Oriente", p.55. P.G. Elgood, "Egypt", p108.

137.

See Aly Shamsy, *op.cit.*, pp.22-23. Field-Marshal Wavell's statement that the growth of the Egyptian national consciousness was stimulated by the creation of the Legislative Assembly ("Allenby in Egypt", p.37), is too strong in view of the short span of life granted to this Assembly.

CH. VII. THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE 1924 PARLIAMENT.

During the First World War the Legislative Assembly was never convened. After the Armistice, Egypt having been declared a Protectorate and placed under Martial Law, the British authorities were not very eager to call a meeting of the Legislative Assembly.

This institution was never abolished officially. But in October, 1914, its session was postponed to January 1, 1915¹²⁸. It was not convened, however, at the latter date and, in April, 1915, a convocation was fixed for November 1 of the same year¹²⁹. It did not meet then, either, and eventually all meetings were postponed indefinitely¹³⁰. The British military authorities seemed, however, to regard the members of the Legislative Assembly with some respect, since the latter were invited to be present at an inspection of the defences of the Suez Canal on March 1, 1916¹³¹.

128.

Al-hilāl, vol.XXIII, Nov.1, 1914, p.166.

129.

Ibid., May 1, 1915, p.689.

130,

‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi‘ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol.I, p.27.

131.

Article, "Ziyārat a‘dā’l-jam‘īya al-tashrī‘īya li-Khutūt al-difā‘ al-‘askariya haula qanāt al-Suwais", in Al-hilāl, vol.XXIV, Apr.1, 1916, pp.599-600.

Some prominent Egyptians, in the meantime, expressed a desire for a real Parliament, modelled on a democratic European pattern. After the Declaration of Independence of February 28, 1922¹³², the time seemed ripe for the creation of an elected representative Parliament.

In a Royal decree, dated March 1, 1922, King Fu'ād charged his Government to elaborate a project for a constitutional regime. In the beginning of April of the same year, the Council of Ministers, presided over by Tharwat Pasha, appointed a commission, headed by Husain Rushdī Pasha¹³³ to draft the project of the constitution¹³⁴.

132.

On this Declaration and the way in which it was prepared, see Wavell, op.cit., ch.IV. Karīm Thābit, "Taṣrīḥ 28 Febrair wa'l-zurūf allatī wuḍi'a fīhā", in Al-hilāl, vol. XXXIX, Feb.1, 1931, pp.504-507.

133.

Short biography of Husain Rushdī in Al-muqtataf, vol. LXXII, May 1, 1928, pp.497-503.

134.

For the names of the members of this commission, see article on "Taṭawwur al-ḥukm al-niyābī fī Miṣr", in Al-hilāl, vol.XXXVI, Aug.1, 1928, pp. 1243-1244.

Having nominated instead of elected the commission for such an important task occasioned some objection and protest¹³⁵, which grew when the Constitution was published¹³⁶.

The Commission worked hard, examining the constitutions of various countries with the view to adapting one of them to Egypt. They chose the Belgian Constitution of 1830-1831 as their model. Probably it appealed to them because Belgium was also a constitutional monarchy with strong French cultural traditions; and, moreover, the Belgian Constitution had proven a success¹³⁷.

135.

Cf. Muḥammad Sabrī, "Miṣr ḥairā", in *Al-ahrām*, Oct. 18, 1922, reprinted in his "*Ādab wa-ta'rīkh*", pp. 283-284. Amīn al-Rāfi'ī, in *Al-akḥbār*, Apr. 5, 1922, summarized by V.V. [Virginia Vacca de Bosis], *Oriente Moderno*, vol. i, 1921-1922, p. 764. Aḥmad Shafīq, "*Hauliyāt*", *Tamhīd*, vol. III, pp. 149 ss. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, "*L'Égypte indépendante*", p. 49.

136.

Aḥmad Shafīq, *ibid.*, pp. 565 ss.; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 623 ss. See also Giannini, "*Le costituzioni degli stati del Vicino Oriente*", pp. 59-60.

137.

Giannini, *ibid.*, p. 59. Id., "*La costituzione egiziana*", *Oriente Moderno*, vol. III, 1923, p. 4. G. Young, "*Egypt*", p. 265.

Finally the commission finished the draft constitution¹³⁸ and the President of the Council, Yahyā Ibrāhīm Pasha, announced the completion of its work¹³⁹.

138.

On the commission's work see V.V. (= Virginia Vacca de Bosis -), in *Oriente Moderno*, vol.I, 1921-1922, pp.763-764. Di'addine Saleh, op.cit., pp. 195-246. Ahmad Shafi'q, "Hauliyyāt", *Tamhīd*, pp.144, ss., 323 ss. E.Klingmüller, op. cit., pp.47-48. Kamal Hani, op.cit., pp.120 ss. Karīm Thābit, "Al-dustūr al-misrī wa-kaifa šadara fī sanat 1923", in *Al-hilāl*, vol.XXXIX, Dec.1, 1930, pp.185-188. Id., *Dhikrayāt 'an lajnat al-dustūr, etc.*, "ibid.", Mar.1, 1931, pp.661-663. Wavell, op.cit., pp.91-92, 95-98. Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati", pp.56-57. Id., "La costituzione egiziana", *Oriente Moderno*, vol. III, 1923, pp.2-3. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., p.49.

139.

For the complete text of this announcement see Ahmad Shafi'q, "Hauliyyāt", *Tamhīd*, vol.III, pp.553-554. Cf. Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati del Vicino Oriente", p.58. Id., "La costituzione egiziana", *Oriente Moderno*, vol.III, 1923, pp.3-4.

The new Constitution was promulgated by a Royal Decree dated April 19, 1923¹⁴⁰. It remained in force until replaced by another, less liberal, on October 22, 1930¹⁴¹: but it was re-established by Royal Decree on December 12, 1935, thus remaining, in principle at least, the fundamental constitution of Egypt after World War I¹⁴².

140.

Article "Dustūr al-mamlaka al-miṣriya ibtidā' ahd jadīd li-Miṣr", in *Al-hiṭāḥ*, vol. XXXI, May 1, 1923, pp. 849 ss. Ahmad Shafi'q, "Ḥawliyat", *Tamhīd*, vol. III, pp. 529 ss. Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati", p. 59. Id., "La costituzione egiziana", *Oriente Moderno*, vol. III, 1923, p. 4. Diaeddine Saleh, *op.cit.*, Appendices, pp. 467 ss. Klingmüller, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

141.

French official translation of the text of the 1930 Constitution in Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati", pp. 87-105; for the text of the new Electoral Law of 1930, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 106-123. See also Giannini, *ibid.*, pp. 85-86. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, *op.cit.*, pp. 97-100. A. Merton, "Constitutionalism in Egypt", *Con. Rev.*, vol. CXXXIX, pp. 32-40. Klingmüller, *op.cit.*, pp. 132 ss. H. Kohn, "Neue Verfassungen im vorderen Orient", in *Das öffentliche Recht der Gegenwart. Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts*, vol. XX, 1932, pp. 430 ss. Muhammad Husain Haikal, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī, & Muhammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, "Al-siyāsa al-miṣriya wa'l-inqilāb al-dustūrī". Also *L'Europe nouvelle*, Feb. 14, 1931, pp. 209-219; *ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1931, pp. 242-252.

142.

Centre d'études de politique étrangère, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-50. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, *op.cit.*, pp. 99-101.

The 1923 Constitution showed the marks of its origins. Drawn up by high officials appointed and supervised by the Government, this constitution was a modest realisation of a liberal regime — a monarchy controlling a representative parliament. The constitution, which had to be suited to the conditions of Egypt and its inhabitants, although radical in its principles, was moderate in their application. It left something to the future, but tried to guarantee to the people an effective participation both in the administration of public affairs, and in the framing of laws and their execution.¹⁴³

143.

Kamal Itani, op.cit., pp.120-126. For the text of the 1923 Constitution see Al-muqtataf, vol.LXII, May 1, 1923, pp.496-517; Ahmad Shafiq, "Hauliyat", Tamhid, vol.III, pp.531-553; Mahmud Hasan al-Farid, "Al-qanun al-dusturi al-misri, etc.", part III, pp.2-35. The qanun al-intikhāb (Electoral Law) is reprinted by Ahmad Shafiq, ibid., pp.599-623 and by al-Farid, ibid., pp.39-71. Cf. for text and translation into French M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.43-82.

This constitution guarantees to all Egyptians equality before the law, individual liberty, inviolability of the domicile and property, liberty of opinion and assembly, a free Press,¹⁴⁴ and compulsory education for Egyptians of both sexes. It established Islam as the religion of the state and Arabic the official language¹⁴⁵. The defects of this constitution (as acknowledged even by the Egyptians) were mainly the excessive powers of the Executive and the looseness with which the private rights were defined.

144.

For an analysis of the articles dealing with the Press in the 1923 Constitution, see Abdel Meguid Ramadan, "L'évolution de la législation sur la presse en Egypte", pp.32-33, 72-77; cf. *ibid.*, pp.78-95. Also White Ibrahim, "La constitution égyptienne du 19 avril, 1923", pp.87-91.

145.

Centre d'études de politique étrangère, *op.cit.*, pp.49-50. G.M. Dutcher, "The political awakening of the East", pp.44-45. See also Amin Osman, *op.cit.*, part II. White Ibrahim, *op.cit.* Shoukri Nagib, *op.cit.*, pp.45 ss. El Sayed Sabry, *op.cit.* J. A. von Harnier Freiherr von Regendorf, "Die Stellung Ägyptens seit 1923", ch.II. Hilmy Makram, "Problèmes soulevés par la constitution égyptienne". Brockelmann, "Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten", p.417.

146.

Hilmy Makram, *op.cit.* pp.33-55; *ibid.*, pp.65-70. Diaeddine Saleh, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

Theoretically, all powers reside in the people. The legislative power is exercised by the King conjointly with the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, all three having the ^{ti} initiative of legislation. Every law must be voted by Parliament and sanctioned by the King before being promulgated. The executive power belongs to the King. He can veto a bill during the month following its vote by Parliament; but if it is voted again by a two-thirds majority, it becomes law. He may prorogue Parliament or adjourn its sessions for a month, and during that time may publish Royal Decrees, which the subsequent ratification of Parliament changes into laws. The King opens the sessions with a Throne Speech, to which each of the Chambers replies. He is helped by his Ministers, who are responsible as a body to Parliament¹⁴⁷.

147.

Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., pp.34, 47-48, 50. Kamal Itani, op.cit., p.125. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., passim, esp. pp.273-274. Hilmy Makram, op.cit., passim, esp. part III, chs.1 and 2.

According to the constitution, the Egyptian Parliament is formed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Two-fifths of the senators are appointed by the King on the advice of his Prime Minister, and the rest are elected. Eligibility is conditional on income. The term of office is for ten years, each five years half the Senate being renewed. The President of the Senate is nominated by the King, the two Vice-Presidents are elected by the Senate.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by indirect ballot on the basis of universal suffrage, each 60,000 inhabitants choosing an elector. The minimum age for eligibility is thirty years and the mandate is for five years. The Chamber elects its President and two Vice-Presidents. It cannot be prorogued twice on the same question¹⁴⁸.

The spirit of this constitution clearly shows the intention of the commission appointed by the King to leave a large share of the government of Egypt in the

148.

Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., pp.50-51.

hands of its monarch, and, as far as possible, to make the Parliament a consultative body, thereby continuing the tradition of the former semi-parliamentary assemblies in Egypt. The King has a very large share in the legislative and the executive, with ample means for pursuit of his own policies¹⁴⁹.

The importance of the powers conferred on the King versus the Parliament in the 1923 Constitution can be appraised correctly only if the prestige of the house of Muhammad 'Alī is brought into account. The King enjoyed admiration, even veneration, in Egypt, as shown by many national hymns¹⁵⁰. The history of the years immediately following the proclamation of the 1923 Constitution showed how inexperienced Parliaments could be manipulated by a clever monarch¹⁵¹.

149.

Besides the above, see Diaeddine Saleh, *op.cit.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 245-246, 375 and part III, ch. 5.

150.

E. Littmann, "Ägyptische Nationallieder und Königslieder der Gegenwart".

151.

See A. Merton, *op.cit.*, *Con.Rev.*, vol. CXXXIX, Jan. 1931, pp. 32-33.

Energetic campaigns preceded the polling for the new Parliament. The Wafd, although it had violently denounced the new constitution¹⁵², concentrated all its resources in election propaganda.

Sa'd Zaghlūl, recently returned from his exile in the Seychelles, spoke at meetings in all parts of Egypt. His watchword was "Complete independence" (Al-istiqlāl al-tāmm). He often began his speeches by stressing his feeling of kinship with his listeners and attacking Great Britain. He bitterly assailed his opponents, accusing them of favouring the British and ignoring the Egyptians. Then he would compare what he called the lack of patriotism of rival parties to the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage of the Wafd.

In these speeches Zaghlūl touched only slightly on social problems, and then only if they were related to the British rule in Egypt. Indeed, he based all his arguments on the attitude towards Britain: his listeners got the impression that the Wafd alone opposed the British, while

152.

For a summary of the main grounds of the Wafd's opposition to this constitution see Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Memorandum on a study of the working of democratic institutions of government in Egypt", pp.6-7.

all other groups supported them. Speeches of this kind, exploiting the anti-British sentiment of the people, and delivered in his simple, straightforward style, made the outcome of the elections almost a foregone conclusion¹⁵³.

The elections were held in an orderly manner¹⁵⁴: those of the first degree took place on September 27, 1923; the elections to the Chamber of Deputies on January 12, 1924; and those for the Senate on February 23, 1924.¹⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the great amount of propaganda launched by other groups in the Press and at public meetings¹⁵⁶, the Wafd won a decisive victory, 188 out of the 215 deputies being declared followers of Zaghlūl¹⁵⁷.

153.

Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.60-63. For examples of Zaghlūl's speeches and the Wafd's well-organized propaganda, cf. Ahmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", Al-haulīya al-ūlā, vol.I, pp.3 ss.

154.

G.T. [= Giuseppe Teganī] in Oriente Moderno, vol.III, 1923, p.312, based on Near East, Oct.11, 1923.

155.

Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, p.31.

156.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", Al-haulīya al-ūlā, vol.I, pp. pp. 1 ss.

157.

On the success of the Wafd in these elections see Zakī Fahmī, op.cit., p.140. 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, op.cit., pp.431-432. Cf. on this electoral campaign, besides the above, W. Hayter, "Recent constitutional developments in Egypt", pp.44-45. Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism in the Hither East", pp.85-86. Arminjon, "L'expérience constitutionnelle et parlementaire de l'Egypte", in Revue de Paris, June 1, 1929, pp.579-581. Wavell, op.cit., p.102, gives slightly different numbers, without mentioning his sources.

The latter was then charged by King Fu'ād with the formation of a Cabinet¹⁵⁸.

March 15, 1924, was the day fixed for the opening of the new Parliament. It is significant of the new spirit of the times that a group of young Egyptian ladies stood near the gates of Parliament displaying slogans requesting, besides the common political demands (independence, etc.), the equality and enfranchisement of women¹⁵⁹.

The Throne Speech (Mitāb al-'arsh), which was anxiously awaited, stressed the need of co-operation between the Egyptian people and their monarch, but made no reference to the Four Reserved Points of the Declaration of Independence. Then the King, his Ministers, and

158.

Article on "Iftitāh al-'ahd al-dustūrī wizārat Sa'd Zaghlūl Bāshā", in *Al-hilāl*, vol.XXXII, Mar.1, 1924, pp.564 ss. Article on "Wizārat al-umma wa-ra'isuhā", in *Al-muqtataf*, Mar.1, 1924, pp.243-246.

159.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥauliyāt", *Al-ḥauliya al-ūlā*, vol.I, pp.82-83. Klingmüller, *op.cit.*, p.65.

the members of both Houses of Parliament swore fidelity to the constitution¹⁶⁰.

The second half of the month of March, 1924, was passed mainly in the examination of credentials, the election of the different officers of Parliament and the preparation of the replies of the two Houses to the Throne Speech. These replies were, on the whole, quite moderate¹⁶¹.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the month of April was devoted first to the election of sub-commissions and then to the discussion of various subjects: the production, import and prices of petrol; religious education; the condition of prisons; cotton exports;

160.

For complete Arabic text of this speech see Ahmad Shafiq, *ibid.*, pp.89-92; Zakī Fahmī, *op.cit.*, pp.119-121; *Al-hilāl*, vol.XXXII, Apr.1, 1924, pp.679-680. *Al-muqtataf*, vol.LXIV, Apr.1, 1924, pp.366-368. Full Italian translation in *Oriente Moderno*, vol. IV, 1924, pp.269-270; cf. *ibid.*, pp.271-273, for comments. See also Qusṭakī Ilyās 'Aṭṭāra, "Ta'rikh takwīn al-ṣuḥuf al-miṣriya", p.187. Ikbal Ali Shah, "Fuṣṭad King of Egypt", pp.190-191. Klingmüller, *op.cit.*, pp.65-66.

161.

V.V. Virginia Vacca in *Oriente Moderno*, vol.IV, 1924, pp.269-273, based on the Egyptian Press. Cf.H.Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism", p.86.

the Bank of Egypt; domestic tobacco culture; immigration; the Budget. In May, the same Chamber dealt with the conditions of Egyptian pilgrims to the Hijaz; the number of British officers in the Egyptian army; the Sudan; the number of Egyptians studying abroad, the Egyptian University. In June most of its time was spent on the forthcoming British-Egyptian negotiations; the Budget; the Sudan; the indemnities to retiring or dismissed foreign officials. In July, some proposals of amendments to the Electoral Law were debated, as well as the Budget and Egypt's debts to Turkey¹⁶².

The subjects dealt with in the Senate were not very different from those treated in the Chamber of Deputies. In April, 1924, the Sudan, illiteracy, and other matters, occupied the attention of the Senate. The following month, the Senate debated the financial condition of the Sudan; religious education; the salary of Senators. They fixed the latter at £E.600, the same as that granted to members of the Chamber of Deputies.

162.

Cf. *Oriente Moderne*, vol. IV, 1924, pp. 462-469, 473-474, 515-519, 529, partly based on the Egyptian Press.

In June, there were a few closed meetings of both Houses of Parliament, in which the future negotiations with the British Government were discussed. Debates on the disposal of the valuable library of Zakī Pasha and on the debts of Egypt to Turkey ended the session in July¹⁶³.

Both Houses ended their first session on July 10, with speeches by Zaghlūl and their respective Presidents, in which the assiduity and seriousness of the members were praised. The Parliament adjourned for the summer recess¹⁶⁴. It was re-opened by King Fu'ād on November 12, 1924. The Throne Speech, which was read by Zaghlūl, contained nothing of importance¹⁶⁵.

163.

Ibid., pp. 460-462, 520.

164.

Ibid., p. 529. Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥawāṣṣ al-ḥawāṣṣ", Al-ḥawāṣṣ al-ūlā, vol. I, pp. 275-277.

165.

Complete Arabic text in Zakī Fahmī, op. cit., pp. 125-131. Summary by U.F. [] = Ubaldo Faldati [], in Oriente Moderno, vol. IV, 1924, pp. 706-707. Cf. also Klingmüller, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

When Lord Allenby sent Zaghlūl the Note in which H.M. Government expressed their reaction to the murder of Sir Lee Stack¹⁶⁶, the Chamber was convoked the same day (November 23, 1924) in secret session, and a Reply drafted which was handed over on the morrow. On the occupation of the Alēxandria customs by British troops, Zaghlūl resigned, and was succeeded by Ahmad Ziwar Pasha. Before the latter adjourned Parliament for one month, in order to open negotiations with Great Britain, the Chamber addressed a strong protest to the League of Nations and all the Parliaments of the world against the proceedings of the British in Egypt. On November 27, the Egyptian Senate followed suit and addressed in its turn a new protest to the League of Nations. Little else was done by the 1924 Parliament in its second session¹⁶⁷

166.

For details cf. Lloyd, op.cit., vol.II, pp.94-101.

167.

A.G. [Amedeo Giannini], in *Oriente Moderno*, vol.IV, 1924, pp.718-722; cf. *ibid.*, p.766. Ahmad Shafiq, "Hauliyyāt", *Al-hauliya al-ūlā*, vol.I, pp.360 ss. and *passim*; cf. *ibid.*, pp.374 ss., for the secret meeting of the Chamber. 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, op.cit., pp.474-475, for the protests of both Houses to the League of Nations.

The 1924 Parliament included a number of almost illiterate members, although others were men of culture and education: the variety of subjects debated in the first session was mainly due to the latter. Of the multitude of subjects which occupied the attention of the first session, those pertaining to relations with Great Britain were discussed most anxiously and ardently. All Parties and Groups resented the presence of British soldiers in Egypt and bitterly impugned Great Britain's title to occupy the Sudan. Zaghlūl, then Premier of the Egyptian Government, had much difficulty in tempering the violent denunciations against Great Britain.¹⁶⁸

168.

Foulad Yeghen, "Sa ad Zaghloul le 'père du peuple' égyptien", pp.75, 82-83, 85-86. P. Arminjon, "L'expérience constitutionnelle et parlementaire de l'Égypte", Revue de Paris, June 1, 1929, pp.581-584. El Sayed Sabry, op.cit., pp.93 ss., 261 ss. White Ibrahim, op.cit., pp.146 ss. Ahmad Shafiq, "Hauliyāt", Al-hauliya al-ūlā, vol.I, pp.142 ss. and passim. About the problem of the Sudan in the first session see also A.G. [Amedeo Giannini], in Oriente Moderno, vol.IV, 1924, p.430. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.65 ss., esp.pp.68-71. H. Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism", p.87. P.G. Elgood, "The situation in Egypt", in Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, vol.VI, Sept.1927, p.301.

The most important work done by the 1924 Parliament — chiefly in its first session — was passing the Budget, the decision to put money due by Egypt to Turkey in the Egyptian National Bank pending further negotiations in the matter, some legislation concerning education and the establishment of agricultural co-operative societies, as well as a few changes in the laws of assembly and in the electoral law.

A new electoral law was promulgated on July 29, 1924, which introduced direct balloting for both Houses of Parliament. Every male Egyptian could vote for the Chamber if he was over twenty-one, and for the Senate if he was over twenty-five. Candidates had to be literate, and could offer themselves for election in districts where they might not vote¹⁶⁹.

The personality of Zaghlūl was as dominant in the 1924 Parliament as in the political and parliamentary life of Egypt until his death in 1927¹⁷⁰. The fight for

169.

H.Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism," pp.86-87, and 285, n.43. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.66-67.

170.

Obituaries in Al-hilāl, vol.XXXVI, Nov.1, 1927, pp.10-33.

supremacy between Parliament and Monarchy in Egypt continued after Zaghlūl's death. By comparison with the work done by the 1924 Parliament, that of the subsequent, short-lived Parliaments down to 1930 (and even after) was inconsiderable¹⁷¹.

The development of Parliamentary institutions in Egypt was by no means a continuous progress. From 1866 to 1882 there was a growing demand for the enlargement of their

171.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥawliyyāt", Al-ḥawliyya al-ūlā, vol.I. pp.30 ss., 506 ss., and passim. Amine Youssef, "Independent Egypt", pp.129-131. Abbas Hilmi II, "A few words on the Anglo-Egyptian settlement", p.87. E.P. MacCallum, "The Near East", p.7. H. Kohn, "Nationalism and Imperialism", p.85. J.E. Marshall, "The Egyptian enigma 1890-1928", p.184. Owen Tweedy, "Sa ad Pasha Zaghlul", Fort.Rev., vol.CXXII, Oct.1927, pp.499-500. A.R.I. Mellor, "The Egyptian riddle", Nin.Cen., vol.CVIII, Oct.1930, pp.426-427. E.W.P. Newman, "Egypt", Con.Rev., vol.CXXXVIII, Nov.1930, p.574. A. Merton "Constitutionalism in Egypt", ibid., vol.CXXXIX, Jan.1931, pp.32-33. Malcolm Moillwraith, "A decade of Egyptian politics", ibid., vol.CXLII, Aug.1932, p.172; cf. ibid., pp.172-180. Ibrāhīm Madkūr and Mariette Ghālī, "Nizām jadīd wa-hayāt jadīda, al-adāt al-hukūmiya", 2nd ed., ch.II. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., passim. esp. pp.376 ss. M. Freund, "Der Kampf Englands um Ägypten und das ägyptische Verfassungsproblem", in Zeitschrift für Politik, vol.XXI, 1932, p.283.

powers. The British Occupation halted this advance and created new institutions on the Indian pattern, which were under greater limitations than the Assembly of Delegates of the last years before the Occupation. Instead of elections, which in time might have been the basis of a Westernised Parliament in Egypt, a nomination system was substituted in part.

The experiment of the Legislative Assembly was too short-lived to justify the assumption of a move forward towards a truer popular representation. It needed the hardships of a world war, and the popular rebellion which followed it, to force an unwilling sovereign to grant a constitution whereby a more effective Parliament, on a European model, was made possible.

The Occupation brought a new, powerful element into the arena of political affairs in Egypt. The influence of the British, prior to the year 1882, had been more than half-neutralised by French opposition, so that the two main factors in Egypt's internal political life were the Khedive (with his Court) and the people. With the Occupation, British influence became predominant and could be felt behind the scenes in all walks of life,

not excluding the semi-parliamentary institutions. These, as has been recorded, attempted to counteract British influence by an opposition which became truly effective only after the First World War.

Not less important was the Westernisation of Egypt under the Occupation. In the second half of the nineteenth century Turkish influence and traditions were on the wane, while British and French culture were in the ascendancy.

The Assembly of Delegates had been designed from the first on a European (probably French) pattern, in a way that tried cleverly to disguise the desire of the Khedive Ismā'īl to continue autocratic rule. Though the advance of parliamentarism was halted by the foundation of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly in 1883, the process of Westernisation, so evident in other sections of public and private life, could not but be felt in them also. One sign of these changes was the fact that religion was losing its decisive importance in the eyes of many of the members of these institutions, a majority of whom gradually acquired a realistic outlook on the state of affairs in Egypt and in the world.

But, on the whole, this Westernisation advanced slowly, often being expressed in the form rather than in

the substance, as appeared in the 1923 Constitution and the 1924 Parliament. In these, however, a noteworthy advance was made in that the masses, and not only the wealthy and favoured, as previously, took a share in the administration of their own affairs.

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SECOND PART: POLITICAL PARTIES.

CH. I. THE PREPARATORY STAGES.

The scarceness of published material renders difficult a true estimate of the development of political ideas in Egypt in the nineteenth century. Nor is it any less difficult to trace the origins of the first political parties.

As in other lands and other periods, the rise of political groups in Egypt was due to three main factors, closely connected with one another: the spread of education, the knowledge that a better state of things was possible, and the suspicion of foreigners.

The various educational missions sent to Europe since the time of Muḥammad 'Alī, the activities of Christian missionaries, and the influence of French scientists, doctors, officers and engineers, could not but leave ~~their~~ their imprint on the people. They thus came to feel that a better state of affairs could exist, a belief which was strengthened by the creation of Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb in 1866. Half-Europeanised Egyptians ceased to consider the

personal rule of ^{the} Khedive Ismā'īl as the ideal one. Naturally enough, what little political consciousness was awakening mainly expressed itself in feelings of suspicion, or even animosity, towards foreigners in general, who were regarded as too interfering in the affairs of Egypt.

If one may credit the investigations made by the British Consuls in Egypt in 1873, this attitude towards foreigners was echoed by the uneducated classes also, and mainly for two reasons — religious, and economic. Firstly, the large orthodox population attributed the growing religious laxity of the richer class of Muslims to European influence¹⁷². Secondly, though aware that some benefits had accrued from the impact of the West, many Egyptians of the poorer class were inclined to blame the Europeans for their own private losses, for the rise in the cost of living, and

172.

F.O. 78/2278, Stanley's Consular No.47, to Granville, dated Alexandria, Sep.23,1873. Contrast F.O. 78/2288, Rogers' No.34, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Sept.24,1873.

for the heavy taxation of the Khedive's Government, which was commonly imputed to the pressure of the European creditors¹⁷³.

Another sign of the unrest prevalent in Egypt under Ismā'īl was the development of the Press. Though hampered by technical difficulties — both the typesetting and printing were done by hand and telegraphic facilities were scarce — the number of newspapers and periodicals increased. Notwithstanding the severe censorship of the

173.

See, besides Stanley's aforementioned report, F.O. 78/2288, West's Consular No.13, to Granville, dated Suez, Aug. 25, 1873. F.O.141/82, No.537, West's No.42 to Vivian, dated Suez, Sep.8, 1873. For the year 1876: F.O.78/2503, Char.A. Cookson's Confidential No.214, Derby, dated Alexandria, June 3, 1876; F.O.,ibid., Vivian's Political No.7, to Derby, dated Cairo, Oct.20, 1876. On the complaints of the Egyptians of over-taxation and taxation in advance in Ismā'īl's last years, cf. F.O. 78/2631, Vivian's Political No.22, marked "Confidential", to Derby, dated Cairo, Jan.28, 1877. For the state of fanaticism in Muslim Egypt in 1877, influenced by the Russo-Turkish war, according to Vivian, see: F.O.78/2632, Vivian's Political No.100, to Derby, dated Cairo, April 19, 1877; F.O. 78/2633, Vivian's Political No.155, to Derby, dated Cairo, June 1, 1877, and Enclosures; ibid., Vivian's Political No. 186, to Derby, dated Alexandria, June 21, 1877.

papers and their restricted circulation, they passed from hand to hand and their readers soon learnt to read between the lines and understand the implications of many guarded sentences¹⁷⁴. Syrians, who took an active part in the progress of literature in Ismā'īl's days, contributed greatly to the development of the Press in Egypt, by gradually educating the masses and offering them elements of Western culture¹⁷⁵.

Besides, certain dissatisfied elements published a few anonymous newspapers and distributed them clandestinely. Thus, in 1869, the Government of Egypt was trying in vain to prevent the printing and circulation of a newspaper named "Le nouvel Argus", the editors of which could not be found¹⁷⁶. A year later the Government

174.

Kamal Eldin Galal, "Entstehung und Entwicklung," pp.74-79.

175.

M. Guidi, op.cit., pp.129-135. J. Alexander, op.cit., p.2. Diaeddine Saleh, "Les pouvoirs du roi", pp.158-159.

176.

F.O. 141/70, No.74, Zoulfikar's "Circulaire" No.120, to Stanton, dated Cairo, Mar.21, 1869.

of the Khedive was enraged by the secret publication of a humorous newspaper in French called "Le Crocodile"¹⁷⁷. Though no additional evidence of the contents or character of these journals is available, they were in a way the predecessors of papers like "Abū Naddāra" or "Al-qāhirī" in the seventies.

When Valentine Chirol visited Cairo in 1876-77, his teacher of Arabic introduced him to some young Egyptian intellectuals. He noticed in them an obvious spirit of discontent with foreign influence in Egypt¹⁷⁸. The same dissatisfaction dominated the anti-European incidents during the years 1877-1879 in the towns, in the villages of Upper Egypt, and in the army, as observed and repeated more than once by the British Counsuls¹⁷⁹.

177.

F.O.141/72, No.52, Nubar's letter — Ministère des affaires étrangères, direction de la presse, No.31 — to Stanton, dated Cairo, Feb.2, 1870.

178.

V.Chirol, "With pen and brush in eastern lands when I was young", pp.26-27.

179.

F.O.78/2861, Vivian's Consular No.82, to Salisbury, dated Alexandria, July 6, 1878. and Enclosures. F.O.78/2998, Vivian's Political No. 57, marked "Most confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.20, 1879. Baring's Memorandum, ibid., Enclosure in Vivian's Political No.65, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.21, 1879. Borg's Memorandum to Vivian, dated Cairo, Feb.18, 1879, a copy of which is enclosed ibid., in Vivian's Political No.70, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.22, 1879.

This discontent was only partly open. It centred in those secret organisations, which were to be the forerunners of political parties in Egypt. Until the time of Ismā'īl there were no political parties; at the most there were groups loosely connected with one personality or another at Court, and serving his interests. This form of political association was to last throughout the British Occupation and, to a lesser extent, up to the present day.

The secret societies could provide the basis for the growth of political parties, by virtue of the fact that they had some sort of organisation, ideals aiming at the common weal, and no close connection with any Court personality.

Secret societies were by no means a new phenomenon in the Muslim world¹⁸⁰. But, as elsewhere in the Near East, these Egyptian societies either kept no written records or else, in times of danger, destroyed what little information

180.

Cf. Question and answer on "Al-jam'īyāt fī 'l-islām", in Al-hilāl, vol. XXVI, Apr. 1, 1918, p. 605.

they had committed to paper. Thus primary sources for these societies are practically negligible; and the second-hand sources are often confused, contradictory and unreliable.

Models for clandestine organisation were not lacking. Besides what educated Egyptians might have read on the subject in the literatures of Europe, they had the example of the Dervish orders¹⁸¹ and Muslim guilds¹⁸², with their particular signs of recognition and peculiar jargon. We have some evidence that secret societies of a religious nature existed in Egypt during Sa'īd's rule. They might have been influenced by Muslims from India, studying at al-Azhar, and by Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, who had also studied there in his youth¹⁸³. The movement in general was inspired from certain quarters in al-Azhar, so that its character and expression remained chiefly religious¹⁸⁴.

181.

On these see O. Depont and X. Coppolani, "Les confréries religieuses musulmanes".

182.

H. Thorning, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens auf Grund von Bast Madad et-Taufiq".

183.

J. Ninet, "Origin of the national party in Egypt", Nin.Cen., vol.XIII, 1883, p.126.

184.

E. Guillon, "Notes pour l'histoire de notre temps. L'Égypte contemporaine et les intérêts français", p.27.

The secret society of the army officers, which was to be the nucleus of the future "National Party", reflected the discontent with religious laxity, economic depression and social discrimination. Though the date of its formation is unknown and the assumption that its origins go back to Sa'īd's days¹⁸⁵ has yet to be proved, it may have been in the early or middle seventies of the nineteenth century; our information about its existence is certain from the year 1876.

The society was founded by 'Alī bey al-Rūbī. Ahmad 'Urābī¹⁸⁶ joined it afterwards, together with 'Alī Fahmī and 'Abd al-Āl. It is not certain who revealed to 'Alī Pasha Mubārak (Minister and author of "Al-khitat al-taufīqiya") the existence of the society and the names of the officers who headed it. Some sources imply that overtures were made to induce him to join the society. Anyway, he disclosed its existence to the Khedive Ismā'īl, who well understood the value of such an ally and tried to

185.

Article on "Ahmad 'Urābī wa'l-hawādith al-ṣurābiya", in Al-hiṭat, vol.XX, Oct.1, 1911, p.28.

186.

Commonly called in European works "Arabi".

use it for his own ends. He was generally suspected of employing the society to overthrow the European Ministry in 1879¹⁸⁷. A further point worth noting is that even after that date, when the secret society of army officers had been changed into a political party with a programme of its own, it jealously maintained its secret character, continuing to meet clandestinely, often at night.¹⁸⁸

It is reasonable to suppose that the movement which led, through the officers' secret society, to the

187.

Article on "Araby Pasha", in The Observer, July 23, 1882, based on an article by a native of Egypt in the Correspondence Politique. Articles on "Ahmad 'Urābī al-miṣrī" in Al-hilāl, vol.V, Sept 15, 1896, pp.45-46, and vol. IX, June 1, 1901, pp.486-487. Ilyās Zakhūra, "Kitāb mir'āt al-'aṣr fī ta'rīkh wa-rusūm akābir al-rijāl fī Miṣr", pp.102 ss. Najīb Makhlūf, "Nūbār Bāshā wa-mā tamma 'alā Ḥadihi", pp.140-141. E.W.P. Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", pp.38-39, 48. P. Giffard, "Les français en Egypte", pp.179-180.

188.

'Urābī, in his memoir, "Kashf al-sitār ʿan sirr al-aṣṣār fī'l-nahḍa al-miṣriya al-mashhūra bi'l-thaura al-'urābiya," vol.I, pp.153-154. Same account in Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd ed., vol.I, pp.268-270. See also Mahmūd Fahmī al-Muhandis, "Al-bahr al-zāhir", cit. by Muḥammad Sabrī, "Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī", in Sabrī's "Āḍab wa-ta'rīkh", pp.41-42. Kamal Itani, "Les déclarations des droits de l'homme", p.113.

formation of the "National Party" must have been directed, or even sponsored, by some highly-placed, well-educated person. It is indeed almost impossible to explain otherwise its genesis and development. The archives of the Public Record Office in London, hitherto little explored for this purpose, offer a clue to this personality — Halīm Pasha.

Halīm Pasha was the last surviving son of Muḥammad 'Alī. A clever, French-educated man, he was a likely successor to the Khedivate after Ismā'īl, until the latter obtained the Sultan's sanction to a radical change in the law of succession: instead of the oldest living member of Muḥammad 'Alī's family succeeding to the Khedivate, direct succession was established.

Presumably Halīm Pasha would not readily consent to his claims to the Khedivate being waived thus. He was well acquainted both with the intellectual nobility of Egypt — Sharīf Pasha had been his secretary in 1852-53¹⁸⁹ — and with the general characteristics of the country's inhabitants. His Saint-Cyr education¹⁹⁰ facilitated for him the task of winning the respect of the army.

189.

Jurjī Zaidān, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 241.

190.

A. Biovès, "Français et anglais en Égypte, 1881-1882", p. 14.

So it was no mere chance that, soon after the firman changing the line of succession in Egypt, Col. Stanton, the British Consul-General, reported confidentially that Halim Pasha was accused of affixing his seal to a document of a revolutionary character¹⁹¹. Of course, Halim denied the whole affair, and complained then and on future occasions of being groundlessly persecuted by Ismā'īl¹⁹².

At the end of 1868, Halim was accused of planning an insurrection, and although he stoutly denied the accusation, he was banished from Egypt¹⁹³.

191.

F.O. 78/1976, Stanton's Confidential No.5, to Stanley, dated Cairo, Jan.24, 1867.

192.

E.g., Halim's letter to Stanton, dated May 19, 1868, copy of which is enclosed in F.O.78/2038, Stanton's despatch No.66, to Stanley, dated Alexandria, June 5, 1868. Cf. also F.O. 78/2039, Stanton's Confidential No.151, to Stanley, dated Alexandria, Nov.22, 1868, Enclosure being a copy of Halim's letter of Oct.22, 1868.

193.

F.O. 78/2039, Stanton's Confidential No.142, to Stanley, dated Cairo, Nov.5, 1868. Ibid., Stanton's Confidential No.145, to Stanley, dated Cairo, Nov.11, 1868.

The document in question is extremely interesting. It is a letter discovered among the papers of Col. O'Reilly (Hasan Pasha), addressed by that adventurer to Halim Pasha and detailing a list of weapons and ammunition necessary for a projected armed revolt against Ismā'īl¹⁹⁴.

Though the authenticity of this document cannot be definitely ascertained, its guarded style might indicate that some secret revolution was indeed being planned; for it is very likely that if the document were a forgery, it would have shown Halim's complicity more clearly than it actually did, the more fully to compromise him. Halim's previous activities of this nature would also lead one to believe that he was not as guileless and innocent as he tried to appear.

The impression one receives is that Ismā'īl's intrigues were the reaction to Halim's machinations. Besides, the very fact that Ismā'īl tried hard to drive Halim into exile, instead of keeping him well observed in Egypt, is also an indication that his presence in the Country was regarded as dangerous. Though no proof of

194.

Copy in F.O.141/96. Copy of copy in F.O.78/2039, Stanton's Confidential No.142, to Stanley, dated Cairo, Nov.5, 1868, Enclosure.

Halīm's connection with 'Urābī and his friends is available for those years, his later association with them makes it appear plausible that he had begun to exploit the dissatisfaction of the Egyptian officers even at that early stage.

Halīm Pasha lived in Constantinople from the year 1868 onwards, continuing his intrigues against Ismā'īl through agents in Egypt and elsewhere¹⁹⁵. In 1869 a plan to assassinate Ismā'īl was attributed to his instigation¹⁹⁶. In the same year, Stanton reported the great popularity of Halīm in Egypt, particularly with the Bedouin tribes¹⁹⁷.

195.

Blanchard Jerrold, "Egypt under Isma il Pacha", ch.VIII. Boovès, op.cit., p.14. For a general outline of Halīm's life and connections with Constantinople, see Ilyās Zakhūra, op.cit., pp.53-54. Article "Al-brins Halīm Bāshā", in Al-hilāl, vol.II, June 15, 1894, pp.637-638. Jurjī Zaidān, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-ḥadīth", 2nd. ed., vol.II, p.246.

196.

F.O.78/2092, Stanton's No.42, to Clarendon, dated Alexandria, April 9, 1869. Ibid., Stanton's No.47, to Clarendon, dated Alexandria, April 17, 1869.

197.

F.O.78/2093, Stanton's Confidential (not numbered), to Clarendon, dated August 15, 1869.

It is perhaps more than a mere coincidence that from 1876 onwards, just at the time when the officers' secret society was gradually beginning to assert itself, information about Ḥalīm's growing popularity in Egypt and among the army is again available¹⁹⁸. Ḥalīm's intrigues continued in 1877¹⁹⁹. In the following year, besides being the alleged cause of agitation in Egypt²⁰⁰, Ḥalīm wrote, and afterwards printed, a letter to the Khedive, Urging on him economic reforms aided by the advice of Europeans.²⁰¹ As the officers' secret society came

198.

F.O. 78/2503, Cookson's Confidential No. 214, to Derby, dated Alexandria, June 3, 1876.

199.

F.O. 78/2633, Vivian's Political No. 192, to Derby, dated Cairo, June 23, 1877.

200.

F.O. 78/2855, Vivian's Political No. 182, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Alexandria, May 23, 1878.

201.

F.O. 78/2384, Vivian's Political No. 109, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Apr. 5, 1878. For a copy of Ḥalīm's letter to Ismā'īl, as printed in the Bulletin Hebdomadaire du comité des créanciers du Gouvernement égyptien, No. 8, Apr. 8, 1878, pp. 1-2, see *ibid.*, Vivian's Political No. 117, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Apr. 10, 1878, Enclosure.

into the open in 1879, its connection with Halīm Pasha became clearer²⁰², as will be explained further on.

Halīm Pasha was also connected for some time with the freemasons in Egypt and Constantinople, in whose ranks he held a high degree; he was even Grand Master of the Order from the year 1867 until his exile from Egypt in 1868²⁰³. But he played a less important part amongst the freemasons of Egypt than did Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī.

Al-Afghānī fought for the regeneration of Islam in Egypt during the seventies of the nineteenth century with unabated zeal. Possessing great personal charm, he inspired his disciples with a desire to stem the tide of European influence on the Islamic world by reinvigorating Islam through a return to its origins and by achieving

202.

Giffard, op. cit., p.180.

203.

Jurjī Zaidān, "Ta'rīkh al-māsūniya al-‘āmm mundhu nash’atihā ilā hādihā’l-yaum", pp.202, 213, 217.
E. St. John Fairman, "Prince Halim Pasha, of Egypt - a freemason, etc.," p.14. R.F. Gould, "The history of freemasonry", vol.III, p.341.

a political union of the Muslim peoples under constitutional governments.²⁰⁴

As there seemed to be some interest in his doctrines in Egypt, Al-Afghānī preached them zealously (his writings are few). Among those who came to listen to him were not only his disciples but many men of letters and high officials²⁰⁵. Most of al-Afghānī's

204.

H.A.R. Gibb, "Modern trends in Islam", pp.27-28. M. Guidi, "La cultura egiziana", in An. Sammarco and others, "Egitto moderno", pp.133-134. For sidelights of al-Afghānī's life, personality and doctrines, see the article written about him by Muḥammad 'Abduh in the Arabic New-York fortnightly "Al-jāmi'a", vol. V, Aug.1, 1906, pp.122-129. Cf. *ibid.*, Sep.1, 1906, pp.145-157; Sep. 15, 1906, pp.196-202; Oct.1, 1906, pp. 238-240. Articles on "Al-Sayīd Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī", in Al-hilāl, vol. V, Mar.15, 1897, pp.553-554 and Apr. 1, 1897, pp.561-571. 'Abd al-Rashīd Ibrāhīm's lecture on al-Afghānī, printed in the Cairene Majallat al-shubbān al-muslimīn, Feb.1930, pp.358-365. 'Uthmān Amīn, "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī", in Al-kitāb, March 1946, pp.679-685. Id., "Muḥammad 'Abduh" ("A'lām al-islām" series), pp.23 ss.

205.

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismāʿīl", vol.II, pp.155, 157-160. Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājīm" 2nd. ed., vol.II, pp.55-66, esp. pp.60 ss.; cf. *ibid.*, p.77. B. Michel et M. Abdel Razik, "Rissalat al Tawhid, exposé de la religion musulmane", Introduction, p.XXIII. C. Brockelmann, "Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten", p.356.

disciples and admirers were young, including 142.
students from al-Azhar. Into these he tried hard
to infuse a truer appreciation of the more liberal
principles of government²⁰⁶

Another merit of al-Afghānī was the fact
that he interested many young Egyptians in journalism.
Though not a professional journalist himself, al-Afghānī
was quick to perceive the force which the Press was to
become in Near Eastern life; so he urged talented young
Egyptians to devote themselves to journalism in Arabic.
James Sanua and Adīb Ishāq were both al-Afghānī's
disciples and many other journalists were indirectly
influenced by him²⁰⁷ By his propaganda al-Afghānī

206.

Biovès, op.cit., p.13. G. Young, "Egypt", pp.101-102.

207.

Kamal Eldin Galal, op. cit., pp.66, 67, 71, 86. For
al-Afghānī's influence on Adīb Ishāq, the editor of Miṣr
and Al-tijāra, see Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd ed.,
vol.II, p.77. Article "Adīb Bek Ishāq", in Al-hilāl,
vol.II, Aug.1, 1894, pp.706-707. Muḥammad Sabrī,
"Ta'rikh Miṣr al-ḥadīth min Muḥammad 'Alī ilā 'al-Yaum",
p.155. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, "Al-ṣiḥāfa fī 'aṣr
Ismā'īl", in Al-kātib al-miṣrī, No.18, March 1947,
p.264. Mārūn 'Abbūd, "Adīb Ishāq", in Al-kitāb,
Feb.1948, p.272. H. Pérès, "La littérature arabe et
l'islam par les textes les XIX^e et XX^e siècles", pp.12-13.

contributed notably towards preparing the ground for the creation of the National Party and the outbreak of the 'Urābī Rebellion²⁰⁸.

Al-Afghānī also contributed to the creation of the National Party by organising and leading the masonic lodges in Egypt. Unfortunately, because of the secret character of the masonic organisation and proceedings, very little information is available of the activities of the lodges and al-Afghānī's participation in them.

The existing evidence indicates, however, that between 1876 or 1877 and 1879 al-Afghani headed the Grand Orient Lodge of Alexandria, which he seems to have founded with the help of some Italian freemasons²⁰⁹.

208.

Galal, *ibid.*, p.86. Al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismāʿīl", vol.II, p.162. J. Alexander, "The truth about Egypt", pp.1-3.

209.

Kamal Itani, *op.cit.*, p.111. Moustapha Sabry, "Épisode de la question d'Afrique l'empire égyptien sous Ismail et l'ingérence anglo-française (1863-1879)", p.349.

On the unofficial advice of the British Consul, Raph. Borg, who held high office in the masonic hierarchy, the new Egyptian lodge affiliated itself to the Orient Star (Kaukab al-sharq), which was subject to the Grand Lodge of England²¹⁰.

This Lodge numbered about three hundred²¹¹ individuals, including some of the leading personages in Egypt: Muhammad 'Abduh²¹², James Sanua²¹³, 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwailihī (afterwards one of the most courageous defenders of the rights of the Assembly of Delegates)²¹⁴, the heir-presumptive Taufiq, Sharīf

210. Moustapha Sabry, *ibid.*, *ibid.* Gould, *op.cit.*, vol.III, p.342.

211. Moustapha Sabry, *ibid.*, *ibid.* 'Uthmān Amin, *op.cit.*, pp.34-35.

212. Moustapha Sabry, *ibid.*, *ibid.* 'Uthmān Amin, *ibid.*, *ibid.*

213. E. Guillon, *op.cit.*, p.27. The author seems to have some personal knowledge of Sanua.

214. Salīm Bey al-'Anhūrī, quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl", vol. II, p.160; cf. *ibid.*, p.161. Moustapha Sabry, "Épisode de la question d'Afrique etc.", pp.349, 353.

Pasha, Butrus Pasha, Sulaimān Abāza Pasha (a recognised personality in the Assembly of Delegates), Sa'd Zaghlūl; journalists like Adīb Ishāq, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī and Salīm al-Naqqāsh; members of the Assembly of Delegates; some army officers, like Latīf Salīm and Sa'īd Naṣr, and others²¹⁵.

The scope of al-Afghānī's influence on the freemasons in Egypt cannot be ascertained, but it is very likely that his personality and ideas left their imprint on the members of this Lodge no less than on other Egyptians. Jealousy of this prestige was probably the reason why secret influences in the Lodge itself worked against him²¹⁶, and finally brought about his expulsion from the Lodge and his exile from Egypt²¹⁷.

215.

Moustapha Sabry, *ibid.*, pp.349, 353. Kamal Itani, *op.cit.*, p.111. Cf. the evidence of 'Urābī and Muḥammad 'Abduh in Blunt's "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", App.I, pp.484, 489.

216.

Article "Al-Sayīd Jamāl al-Dīn al-Husainī al-Afghānī", in *Al-hilāl*, vol.V, Apr.1, 1897, p.567. Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", vol.II, pp.60-61.

217.

F.O.78/3003, Lascelles' Political No. 498 to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Aug.30, 1879.

Though never playing a very important part in the political life²¹⁸, masonic lodges continued to exist in Egypt for many years²¹⁹.

218.

Cf. Muhammad 'Abduh, quoted by Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", App.I, p.491.

219.

For 1887-1889 see "Memorandum du F. G. de Nichichievich Comte de Nichea 33^e .: contre le Suprême Conseil des 33^{es} .: pour la France et ses dépendances". For 1900 see note on "Al-khulāṣa al-māsūniya", in Al-muqtataf, vol.XXIV, June 1, 1900, p.537. For 1902 see question and answer on "Al-māsūniya wa-mabarrātuhā", ibid., vol.XXVII, May 1, 1902, p.495. For 1908, see article on "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", in Al-hilāl, vol.XVI, Mar.1, 1908, p.322, and note on "Al-jarā'id wa'l-majallāt fi'l-quṭr al-misrī," ibid., vol.XVII, May 1, 1909, p.509. For 1909 see note on "Al-jarā'id al-misriya", ibid., vol.XVIII, June 1, 1910, p.560. For 1912 see the pamphlet "Le livre noir. L'anarchie dans la grande loge nationale d'Egypte".

CH. II. THE NATIONAL PARTY.

It is difficult to assess the causes which led the army officers at the head of the secret society to organise themselves into a political party, which still maintained, out of precaution, a semi-clandestine character. There were probably various reasons combining to bring this change about.

As early as 1876, the British Consul, Cookson, had pointed out the extent of the animosity prevalent in Egypt against foreigners and against the Government of the Country 220. With time, this animosity grew, because of the nomination of the two Controllers (1876), the sending of a Commission of inquiry (1878), and, to a lesser degree, because of the decisions of the Berlin Congress (1878) on the results of the Turco-Russian War. The intrusion of foreign economic and political influence

220.

F.O. 78/2503, Cookson's Confidential no. 214, to Derby, dated Alexandria, June 3, 1876.

was brought home to the masses by the presence of European officials, who filled many of the highest and best-paid posts in the administration. The fact that these high officials were all Christians certainly did not help in making them better loved.

The misery of the people was further aggravated by a low Nile in 1877, the effects of which were felt in the following year, as well as by considerable increases in taxation. The Khedive Ismā'īl was often blamed for those misfortunes and though many fallahin were apathetic, many others hated the ruler and the exploitation that was attributed to him. The intellectuals, inspired by new constitutional ideas from Europe, hated Ismā'īl's personal rule. The deposition of the Sultan in 1876, the revelations of the Commission of inquiry about Ismā'īl's financial mismanagement and, lastly, Ismā'īl's dismissal, greatly weakened the prestige of the ruling authority. All these factors increased the interest in politics²²¹.

221.

F.O. 78/3326, Malet's Political No. 335, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 17, 1881, Enclosure, being L. Loriai's Memorandum to d'Ornstein, dated Vanta, Nov. 15, 1881. Kamal Itani, op.cit., pp. 104 ss. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., p. 107. W.H. Dawson, in The Cambridge history of British foreign policy, vol. III, Book IV, § VI, pp. 163-164; cf. ibid., pp. 164-166. H. Kohn, "Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient", pp. 143-144.

Another symptom of the general discontent was the demoralisation of the underpaid Egyptian army after the failure of the Abyssinian campaign. Those officers of fallah stock, who had formed the secret society, were discontented with the general state of affairs in Egypt. To their dissatisfaction were added particular grievances, chief among which was the preferential treatment shown towards the officers of Turkish or Circassian descent. The latter were not cashiered when the firman of investiture granted to Taufiq reduced the total number of the army from 45,000 to 18,000. It was the Egyptian officers who had to bear the brunt of these dismissals and they, too, had to deal with the resentment of the soldiers taken for corvée duty. So it was no wonder that the fallah officers regarded with growing dislike the Turkish class, which included at the time wealthy Turks, connections of the Khedivial family, Court favourites, and a few rich Egyptian landowners²²².

222.

Qlīnī Fahmī, "Mudhakkarāt", vol.I, passim. Muḥammad Husain Haikal, "Tarājim miṣriya wa-gharbiya", p.90. Sir W. Gregory, "An autobiography", pp.371-373. A.J. Toynbee, "The islamic world since the peace settlement" (Survey of international affairs, 1925, vol.I), pp.193-194. E.W.P. Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", p.53. E.Dicey, "The story of the Khedivate", pp.251-253. Id., "England's intervention in Egypt", Nin.Cen., vol.XII, 1882, pp.165-166.

It was just because the fallah officers gradually acquired more adherents, and scored more than one political success, that they were constantly apprehensive of arrest and execution.²²³ Another danger of which the officers might have been aware was the springing-up of societies or organisations which might eventually overshadow theirs. For instance, the journalist 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm founded in 1879 a society (not secret), named "Al-jam'īya al-khairīya al-islāmīya", in co-operation with his two friends, Muḥammad Amīn, chief clerk in the Asyūt Court, and Mahmūd Wāṣif, Editor of "Al-'Adī"²²⁴.

223.

The Consuls of Great Britain in Egypt often noticed this apprehension. See also Muḥammad Ṣabrī, "Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī", in his "Adab wa-ta'rikh", pp.41-42.

224.

Article on "Al-Ṣayīd 'Abd Allāh Nadīm", in Al-hilāl, vol. V, Feb.1, 1897, pp.403-404. Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd.ed., vol.II, pp.107-108. Kamal Eldin Galal, op.cit., p.110. On various activities of this society, from the nineties of the 19th century onwards, see Al-hilāl, vol.I, 1892-93, pp.91, 130, 284-285; vol.II, Nov.15, 1893, p.186; vol.III, Feb.1, 1895, p.434; vol.IV, Dec.15, 1895, p.313; vol.VI, Dec.15, 1897, p.306, and so on. For Muḥammad 'Abduh's part in the society — he was its President from 1900 to 1905 — cf. 'Uthmān Amīn, op.cit., pp.118-120. For the activities of this society in the first years of the 20th century see Salāma Mūsā, "Al-Qāhira fīnā baina 1903 wa-1907", in Al-kātib al-miṣrī, fasc.10, July 1946, p.293.

No doubt, the fallah officers were emboldened to assert themselves as a National Party by the encouraging attitude of the Press. Relatively free at the end of Ismā'īl's and the beginning of Taufīq's rule, the Press advocated the achievement of independence. James Sanua, an Egyptian Jew, had already published a satirical journal, under the influence of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh. In the years 1877-1878, this journal, called "Abū Naḍḍāra", criticised, in a satirical and often allegorical manner, the Khedive Ismā'īl's methods of government²²⁵.

225.

Philip Tarnazi, "Ta'rikh al-sihāfa al-'arabiya", vol.II, p.283; vol.III, pp.8-9. Id., "Arabic periodicals fascicle", pp. 162-163. Sarkis, "Mu'jam al-maṭbū'āt al-'arabiya wa'l-mu'arraba", p.350. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, "Taṭawwur al-sihāfa al-miṣriya wa-atharuhā fī'l-nahḍatain al-fikriya wa'l-ijtimā'iya," p.236. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, op.cit., Al-kātib al-miṣrī, 18, Mar., 1947, pp.264-265. Muḥammad Ṣabī, "Ta'rikh Miṣr al-ḥadīth min Muḥammad 'Alī ilā'l-yaum", p.154. W.S. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", pp.23-24; cf. ibid., p.26. Id., "Gordon at Khartoum", pp.45-47. "News from Egypt," in 'Egypt, a monthly record of Egyptian and Near-eastern news', vol.I., No.2, Apr.1911, p.10. E. Guillon, op.cit., p.27. Paul de Baignières, "L'Egypte satirique", p.6. Moustapha Sabry, "La genèse de l'esprit national égyptien (1863-1882)", pp.127-128.

This attitude of the Press was markedly aided by Christian Syrians, who played an important part as journalists in Egypt, offering their talents to the cause of reform²²⁶. But it was the self-assertion of the fallah officers and the so-termed 'Urābī Rebellion which changed journalists into politicians, and altered their social status for the better²²⁷. The above-mentioned Adīb Ishāq was enabled by the leaders of the National Party to continue in Paris the publication of his "Al-qāhirī"²²⁸. In Egypt itself, on the other hand, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, a gifted journalist, became one of the acknowledged promoters and leaders of the 'Urābī Rebellion²²⁹.

226.

M. Hartmann, "The Arabic Press of Egypt", pp.3-4, 9-10.

227.

Kamal Eldin Galal, op.cit., p.120. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, "L'Égypte indépendante", p.378.

228.

J. Ninet, "Arabi Pasha", pp.37-38.

229.

See the end of this Chapter.

There were three contributory elements to the quasi-national revival in Egypt: the first, al-Afghānī's movement for reforms in Islam, had been considerably thrust into the background by the banishment of its leader from Egypt. The second, the movement for constitutional reforms headed by Sharīf Pasha had been weakened by the autocratic tendencies of Ismā'īl and Taufīq. The third, led by the fallah officers, was the only strong movement which remained, and its chiefs tried their best to lead Egypt to what they considered independence from foreign influence and supervision²³⁰.

In 1879 the fallah officers formed an association to combat foreign influence in Egypt. They called it "Al-hizb al-waṭanī"²³¹, which they commonly translated as "The National Party"²³².

230.

Kamal Eldin Galal, op.cit., p.86. Young, "Egypt", p.101-106.

231.

On "Hizb" see App. 7.

232.

Al-tijāra, No.216, Apr.1879, cit. by al-Rāfi'ī, "Asr Ismā'īl", vol.II, p.215, n.3.

The existence of this association was soon known, but the names of its members were kept secret, out of fear of the Government. Besides the fallah officers, it included religious leaders, like al-Ṣayīd 'Alī al-Bakrī; distinguished notables, like Ismā'īl Rāghib Pasha (sometime president of the Assembly of Delegates and ex-Minister), Sulṭān Pasha (future president of the Assembly of Delegates); mudīr-s, like Sulaimān Abāza Pasha (al-Sharqīya), and Hasan al-Sharī'ī (Minyā), both prominent members of the Assembly of Delegates. Other personages, like Sharīf Pasha and 'Umar Lutfī Pasha, were also connected with this association, which made Halwān its centre.²³³

It must be kept in mind that this association or party was rather loosely organised, all ties being personal, so that the membership was at no time fixed or certain. Though the official Gazette, "Al-waqā'i' al-misrīya" of April 13, 1879, spoke of the foundation of this association²³⁴, exact particulars about the membership were not available.

233.

F.O.78/3001, Vivian's Political No.273, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 10, 1879. 'Urābī, op.cit., vol.I, passim. J. Ninet, "Arabi Pasha", pp.38-39. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., p.109. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Asr Ismā'īl", vol.II, pp.215-216. Id., "Althaura al-'urābiya", pp.70-71. Kamal Itani, op.cit., p.113.

234.

Quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, "Asr Ismā'īl", vol.II, pp.220-221.

When the Official Gazette had occasion to mention this association it was because of a programme, named "Al-lā'ihā al-waṭaniya", which the leading members had drafted in its final form on April 2, 1879 (Rabī' al-ākhar 10, 1292). In Ismā'īl Rāghib's house, in the presence of Sharīf Pasha, Shāhīn Pasha, Hasan Pasha Rāsim, Ja'far Pasha, al-Sayīd 'Alī al-Bakrī, al-Shaikh al-Khalfāwī and al-Shaikh al-'Adawī, and others, a programme was agreed upon. It dealt chiefly with financial and constitutional points.

The financial part tried to contradict the Rivers Wilson project²³⁵, which intended to declare Egypt bankrupt; the signatories of "Al-lā'ihā al-waṭaniya" believed that the revenues of Egypt were sufficient for its expenditure and for the payment of its public debts. The second part of the programme demanded a change in the constitution of Majlis al-nuwwāb, which should be modelled on Parliamentary institutions in Europe, with the Ministers responsible to it.²³⁶

235.

C. Rivers Wilson, "Chapters from my official life", esp. chs. XII-XVII.

236.

Summary in al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl", vol. II. pp. 216-218; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 215-216. See also Diaeddine Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

A deputation presented this programme to the Khedive Ismā'īl, who showed himself disposed to grant the requests, and ordered French translations to be made of it and sent to the consuls of foreign Powers. He dismissed Taufīq from the premiership and replaced him by Sharīf, and informed the foreign representatives of his decisions at a meeting which was also attended by the most prominent of the signatories of the programme.²³⁷

The main point of "Al-lā'iha al-waṭaniya" was that it suggested reasonable plans for financial and constitutional improvements in the welfare of Egypt, without violating Egypt's financial agreements with other countries. This regard for the debts of Egypt to the European creditors was probably due to the influence of the more moderate members of the association which drafted the above-mentioned programme. A good many of these moderate members, like Ismā'īl Rāghib, Sharīf, and Shāhīn, were closely connected with the Khedive Ismā'īl, which might account for the fact that the Khedive accepted the "Lā'iha" so readily. But it is more probable that the

237.

Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, pp. 219-220. F.O. 78/3001, Vivian's Political No. 273, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 10, 1879.

Khedive was privy to the drafting of the programme and knew all that was going on; after all, it was in his interest to dismiss the European Ministry, which supervised too closely his financial affairs and methods of government.

An analysis of the social status of the signatories of the programme is instructive. The 327 signatures were divided as follows²³⁸:

	No:	Percentage:
Officers	93	28.44
Officials	72	22.02
Members of Majlis al-nuwwāb	60	18.35
Members of all religions	60	18.35
Notables and merchants	42	12.84
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	327	100.00%
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The social difference between the signatories is remarkable. Their common characteristic was that they were people of some education. The officers came first on the list, in number. This was by no means chance:

238.

According to the computation of al-Rāfi'ī, "Asr Ismā'īl", vol.II, p.218.

the rising power of the army and its prestige among the people were already felt at the time (as the first rebellion of the officers had showed) and were to become even more obvious in the near future. The officers, in particular, had many grievances against the Ministers.

The large number of officials among the signatories could be explained by the discontent arising out of dismissals brought about by attempts to economise in Government expenditure. It was more significant that sixty members of Majlis al-nuwwāb signed the "Lā'ihā". Though they were only 18.35% of the signatories, they constituted in fact no less than 80% of all the members of the Majlis, the maximum number of which was limited to seventy-five. This again was not mere coincidence, but rather an obvious sequel to that growing spirit of opposition to the Khedive and his ministers, so notable in the Majlis of 1879.

The religious participants, which also numbered 18.35%, included also some Jewish and Coptic leaders, but the Muslims were still in the great majority. This may indicate that religious animosity towards foreigners played an important part in the early evolution of the

resistance movement ideology, directed against foreign intrusion and intervention. The merchants came last on the list because most of them were, at this time, foreigners, mainly Greek and Maltese.

The high aristocracy was almost unrepresented — save for Sharīf Pasha and a very few others — because the very large majority of this category was Turkish or Circassian and centred around the Khedive and his Court. On the other hand, one might expect to find more fallahin among the signatories: but the apathy of the fallahin to political progress was almost proverbial; besides, they were represented, to a certain degree, among the officers, the members of Majlis al-nuwwāb, and the village-notables.

For reasons unknown, a split seems to have occurred in the party soon after Khedive Ismā'īl's deposition. The officers might, from the first, have been somewhat envious of the position of men of Sharīf Pasha's standing, but they needed such men as an eventual protection against the Khedive's fury. When Ismā'īl was dismissed, these high personages left the party, which assumed again a secret character, headed by its former leaders, the fallah officers. These, however, maintained relations with some of the former members.

In these conditions a "Manifesto of the Egyptian National Party" was written on November 4, 1879 (Dhū' al-qa'da 20, 1296) and published a few days later. As the manifesto was signed just "Aali" ('Alī al-Rūbī?), we would not know its authors but for the evidence of John Ninet, the Swiss who witnessed the composition of this document and afterwards translated it into French²³⁹. According to Ninet, besides the officers and their ally, Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, people like Sultān Pasha, Sharīf Pasha, 'Uthmān Luṭfī Pasha and Ismā'īl Yusrī Pasha (the last three being near to the Khedivial circles) aided in drafting this programme.

The programme was long²⁴⁰. It stated that Ismā'īl, faced with dismissal, had asked the help of the Egyptian National Party — too late. It then announced the existence

239.

John Ninet, "The origin of the national party in Egypt", Nin.Cen., vol.XIII, 1883, p.131.

240.

See App.8. Translation into French in "Traduction de l'original en langue arabe. Manifeste du parti national égyptien". English translation in the anonymous "Egypt for the Egyptians. A retrospect and a prospect", App.IV, pp.187-194. Summary in English in Ninet, op.cit. Nin.Cen., vol.XIII, 1883, p.131. Summary in Arabic in al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'urābiya", pp.71-72. See also Kamal Itani, op.cit., pp.113-114.

of the National Party and its desire to save Egypt from bankruptcy. After stressing the rights of the Egyptians to freedom, the programme outlined the importance of educational reforms. The National Party, and not the Khedive ruled by foreign Powers, ought to free Egypt from its public debts. The party, representing the aspirations of all the Egyptian communities, repudiated such interference as that exercised by foreign officials in the administration of Egypt; foreign influence should only be advisory. The party believed in Europe's good will, and should suitable diplomatic protection be offered to the writers of the manifesto, they would reveal themselves. Debts should be paid but nothing Egyptian should be pawned.

The financial programme of the party had four main points:

- (a) the return to Egypt of all the Khedivial domains, except the patrimonial;
- (b) the return to Egypt of all the revenues from the railways;
- (c) the consolidation of all Egypt's debts at an interest of 4%, after giving compensation to those rightly entitled to it; and
- (d) the formation of a temporary three-member commission representing international control of the debt, whose relations with the Egyptian Government would be regulated by a convention.

This programme, notwithstanding its needless repetitions, contained a bold wish for the achievement of Egyptian autonomy. Its expressed desire to pay Egypt's debts could hardly have convinced the creditors, since one of the chief demands of this programme was the return to Egypt of the securities on which the loans had been issued. Still, though financially unconvincing, this manifesto was the first real self-assertion of an Egyptian party with a programme of its own.

In December 1881, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, an Englishman who befriended the National Party in Egypt and was a close friend of its leaders, composed a summary of the opinions and aspirations of the officers and Ulema (who headed the movement). The document was revised by Muḥammad 'Abduh, Sulaimān Abāza, and Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī. Then, after being shown by Blunt to Sir Edward B. Malet, the British Consul-General in Egypt, copies were sent to Gladstone and to the "Times".

The main points of this programme were:

1. The National Party would respect the authority of the Sultan as long as the Ottoman Empire might exist; but would resist any attempt to reduce Egypt to a Turkish pashalik.
2. The National Party would remain devoted to the Khedive Taufiq as long as he reigned justly and kept the promises given in September 1881.
3. The National Party accepted the financial undertakings and debts of Egypt, though it considered that many improvements and economies, which could ^{be} introduced without violence, might be effected in the foreign financial administration of Egypt.
4. The National Party had put the protection of its interests in the hands of the army, which should be augmented to 18,000 men, since it considered a passive attitude insufficient in a country governed by a class opposed to liberty.
5. The National Party was a political, and not a religious, party. Though chiefly Muslim, it had the support of Copts and Jews. It believed all men to be equal, politically and before the law.

6. The National Party desired to regenerate the country intellectually and morally, by Egypt's own means, by respect for law, education, and political liberty²⁴¹.

The 1881 programme of the National Party differs in some essential points from that of 1879. The latter, being addressed primarily to Egyptians, was written in Arabic, and afterwards translated; the former was written mainly for European public opinion. Both manifestoes spoke about the regular payment of Egypt's debts, the desire not to use force, and the need to regenerate the country by its own means. But clauses four and five of the 1881 programme embodied two important additions. One demanded the increase of the army; this was the result of

241.

Al-Rāfi' *ibid.*, pp.145-148. A foreigner, "Russia: Europe and the East", pp.113-116. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", pp.173-174, 556 ss. Van Bemmeln, *op.cit.*, vol.II, pp.256-258. J. Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", pp.53-54. F.O. 78/3321, Malet's Political No. 53, to Granville, dated Cairo, Feb.13, 1881. F.O. 78/3326, Malet's Political No. 390, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec.26, 1881. *Ibid.*, Malet's Political No. 398, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec.28, 1881. F.O. 78/3438, A. Colvin's Political No. 354, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Alexandria, June 15, 1882. Ninet's account in his "Arabi Pasha", pp.322-324, refers to a wider range of demands.

the leadership of the party being in the hands of the fallah officers. In the other clause, the political aims of the party and its desire for equality, both political and legal, were stressed; this exhibited Blunt's influence²⁴² and the party's hope of impressing the Powers with the justice and nobleness of its claims.

In the meantime, the 'Urābī Rebellion took its course. From 1879, when the first military pronunciamento took place, until September 1882, when armed opposition broke down completely, the party had gradually grown stronger and larger, and had changed from a small military association to a large movement, easily swayed by passion and as easily discouraged by defeat.

In its first stage, the anti-foreign movement had the character of military insubordination, which carried the day, because the army was the only real force in Egypt at the time. In order to protect themselves from the intrigues which their success had engendered, and in order to impress upon Europe the predominant political character of the movement, the fallah colonels had recourse to political agitation. In the second

242.

For Blunt's connections with the National Party and activities during the rebellion see, besides his own books, Biovès, op.cit., pp.40 ss., 61, 63, 90, 109, 297 ss.

stage, advocating political and financial reforms and the creation of truly representative institutions in Egypt, 'Urābī and Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī led the Council of Ministers. The movement entered in its third stage, that of popular defence, with the attack of the British forces on Alexandria. Then, still with the army as its core, it began to attract, more than ever before, the educated classes, many journalists and notables, a considerable number of peasants and a good many leaders of the Muslim religion in Egypt. Thus it gradually passed into its fourth stage, that of Muslim resistance to Christian aggressiveness. It was then that emissaries of 'Urābī called Muslims from El Arish and Southern Palestine to join his forces²⁴³.

The reasons for the failure of the 'Urābī Rebellion were various. One was the continuous disagreement between 'Urābī's Group and the Court. Many able people in Egypt ranged themselves on either side, thus

243.

F.O.141/85, J.G. Pickard's report to Col. Sir Charles Wilson, dated Cairo, Sept. 25, 1882. Blunt, "Secret History of the English occupation of Egypt", pp.400 ss. D.M. Wallace, "Egypt and the Egyptian Question", pp.102-103.

splitting the constructive power of the National Party. But the larger part of the inhabitants of Egypt looked, spectator-like, at the whole movement -- waiting to see which side would win. Moreover, the leaders of the movement lacked political and diplomatic competence as well as military experience; this was amply proved during the course of the rebellion.

Notwithstanding the discouragement which followed the utter defeat of the Egyptians at Tell al-Kabir, resistance did not die out entirely, and was fanned by Halim Pasha. This personage, whose earlier connections with the secret societies in Egypt have already been described, continued his relations with the fallah officers all through the eventful years 1879-1882. He probably prompted some of the decisions and actions of the National Party,

though his exact share in the development of events and in the 'Urābī Rebellion is not certain²⁴⁴.

After the army was disbanded and judgment passed on its leaders²⁴⁵, Halīm's prestige in Egypt

244.

F.O. 78/3322, Malet's Political No. 92, to Granville, dated Cairo, Mar. 14, 1881.
F.O.78/3324, Malet's Political No. 249, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sept.23,1881. Ibid., Malet's Political No.255, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep.25, 1881. F.O.78/3325, Malet's Political No.274, marked "Most confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct.6,1881. F.O. 78/3326, Malet's Political No.339, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov.21, 1881. F.O. 78/3438, Malet's Political No. 309, to Granville, dated Cairo, June 1, 1882.
"Araby Pasha", in The Observer, July 23, 1882.
"Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Égypte, 1881-1882" (Paris,1882), No.5, Gambetta's despatch to Challemel Lacour, dated Paris, Dec.15, 1881, p.3. Giffard, op.cit., pp.180, 303, 304, 308. Ilyās Zakhūra, op.cit., p.115. 'Urābī, in Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd. ed., vol.I, p.266.
Contrast ibid., p.279. Also F.O. 78/3436, Cookson's Political No. 139, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Mar. 20, 1882. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", pp.216, 341.

245.

On the trials see, besides the P.R.O. archives, A.M. Broadley, "How we defended Arābi and his friends. A story of Egypt and the Egyptians". Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", pp.431-476. A. Colvin, "The making of modern Egypt" (Nelson ed.), pp.35-38, for a view opposed to the former two. H. Smith-Dorrien, "Memories of forty-eight years' service", p.36, for the account of an eye-witness. G.Charnes, "L'insurrection militaire en Égypte", in R.D.M. (Revue des Deux Mondes), Sep.1, 1883, pp.100-125.

still remained great²⁴⁶, and he continued his intrigues. His candidature as a possible successor to Taufiq was secretly supported by the Turkish aristocracy in Egypt, who longed for the restoration of the ancien régime, and by certain circles in France, who hoped to use Halim's pro-French proclivities in order to create an opposition to the British Occupation in Egypt²⁴⁷. Halim also had adherents among the non-Turkish inhabitants of Egypt, some of them even being arrested because of their relations with him²⁴⁸.

246.

E. St. John Fairman, op.cit., pp.13, 14, 15, 16, 18.

247.

E. Malet, "Egypt 1879-1883", pp.282, 284, 291. Hasenclever, op.cit., pp.217-220, 228. S.de Chonsky, "Croquis égyptiens", pp.91-92. Biovès, op.cit., p.14.

248.

F.O. 141/206, No.582, Mohammed Hassan El Akkad's — who signs in Arabic Muḥammad Ḥasan Mūsā al-ʿAqqād — petition to Edwin H. Egerton, dated Cairo, June 8, 1884; Cf. Mohammed El Akkad's other petition, F.O. 141/228, No. 498, to Egerton, dated Cairo, Aug.27, 1885. It is also interesting to note that later, in 1899, Muḥammad ʿAlī, Halim's son, was rumoured to have secret connections with the Young Turks — cf.F.O. 141/348, No.417, Copy of Sir Nicholas R. O'Connor's No.472, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Constantinople, Oct.5, 1899.

The journalistic and political activity of James Sanua in the seventies of the nineteenth century has already been mentioned. During the 'Urābī Rebellion he was an exile in France and his role remains unknown. However, he kept in touch with the leaders of the National Party, encouraging them in his periodical "Abū Naḍḍāra", which was distributed free of charge amongst the Egyptian troops²⁴⁹. On the other hand, Sanua supported Ḥalīm ardently in his periodicals²⁵⁰ and in "Al-ʿurwa al-wuthqā", which he published conjointly with al-Afghani and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, in Paris²⁵¹.

249.

Cf. Sanua's periodicals, *passim*, and F.O. 78/3324, Malet's Political No. 255, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 25, 1881.

250.

Ibid., *ibid.* Also F.O. 78/3558, Baring's Political No. 444, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct. 8, 1883. F.O. 78/3682, Baring's Political No. 1199, marked "Secret", to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec. 31, 1884. The Saturday Review, vol. XLVIII, July 26, 1879, p. 112. Blanchard Jerrold, "Egypt under Ismail Pacha", p. 219.

251.

F.O. 78/3682, Baring's Political No. 1199, marked "Secret", to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec. 31, 1884; Enclosure 1 contains a set of this valuable periodical. Cf. Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd. ed., vol. II, pp. 61, 116. Article on "Al-Ṣayīd Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī", in Al-hilāl, vol. V, Apr. 1, 1897, pp. 567-568. ʿUthmān Amīn, "Muḥammad ʿAbduh", pp. 72-73, 76-82. See also Galal, *op. cit.*, p. 116. M. Guidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.

Sanua furnishes at least one of the missing links connecting Ḥalīm and the leaders of the National Party. Moreover, by the inflammatory nature of his periodicals²⁵², which were smuggled into Egypt, he was in some measure responsible for keeping alive a spirit of opposition to the Occupation.

Another Arabic paper, published fortnightly at Leghorn by some of 'Urābī's followers who had escaped, was also serving the interests of the remnants of the National Party²⁵³. The propaganda of these journals, together with the excitement caused by the successes of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, accounts for the reported recommencement of seditious speeches by former partisans of 'Urābī²⁵⁴.

252.

Cf. for example his "The Egyptian Patriot", vol.I, No.I, Sep.29, 1883.

253.

Summarised translation of articles in Al-inbā', No. 1, Aug.9, 1883, forms Enclosure No.1 in F.O. 78/3558, Baring's Political No. 444, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct.8, 1883.

254.

F.O. 78/3802, C. Spencer Carr's No.6, to Raph.Borg, dated Birket es Sab, Mar.26, 1885, Copy of it being Enclosure No.2 in Baring's Political No.282, to Granville, dated Cairo, Mar.28, 1885.

The leaders of the planned resistance to foreign interference in Egypt's affairs, from the beginning of the officers' secret society until the end of the 'Urābī Rebellion, were various in character. The moderate notables, like Sharīf Pasha, and the rich ones, like Sultān Pasha²⁵⁵, though more prominent, never had the final say in the councils of the Group. It was the officers and their circle who made the decisions.

Aḥmad 'Urābī, (1841-1911), the acknowledged leader, is a very controversial figure, who has received much praise and much abuse. He had a magnetic personality, which explains his influence on the officers and many Egyptians outside the army. His gift of speech helped him to impose his will on his followers; yet, despite his lofty intentions, he lacked political competence and farsightedness. He was a man of neither genius nor intelligence. Lacking military talent, he was conceited and incapable of accepting advice²⁵⁶.

255. For other names cf. J. Ninet, "Arabi Pasha", pp.38-40. Aḥmad al-Shā'ib, "Al-Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh", p.8.

256. Ninet, *ibid.*, p.39. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-'Urābīya", *passim*, esp. pp.514-520. A serial on "Aḥmad 'Urābī al-miṣrī" in Al-hilāl, vol.V, Sep.15, 1896, pp.41-48; *ibid.*, Oct.1, 1896, pp.82-90; *ibid.*, Oct.15, 1896, pp.122-134. 'Urābī's letter to Jurjī Zaidān, *ibid.*, vol.VI, June 1, 1898, p.746. Article on "Aḥmad 'Urābī al-miṣrī", *ibid.*, vol.IX, June 1, 1901, pp.482-492. 'Urābī's memoir, *ibid.*, vol.X, Oct.15, 1901, pp.33-55. Ilyās Zakhūra, *op.cit.*, pp.99-124. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", *passim*. "Egypt's debt to Arabi" in 'Egypt, a monthly record of Egyptian and Near-Eastern news', vol.I, No.8, Oct.1911, p.77; cf. *ibid.*, pp.82-83. Biovès, *op.cit.*, *passim*. Hasenclever, *op.cit.*, pp.203 ss.

One of the most outstanding collaborators of 'Urābī was Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1840-1904). A poet who influenced the revival of Arabic poetry in Egypt, al-Bārūdī had a good knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish and distinguished himself in military service and civil work during Ismā'īl's rule. Though considered by many the statesman of the Rebellion, he had no real political or diplomatic competence, knowing very little of international affairs and being unacquainted with any European language²⁵⁷.

It has already been pointed out that the Arabic Press in Egypt sided with the fallah officers throughout the turbulent period and, at the same time, gave a powerful impetus to the 'Urābī rebellion²⁵⁸. One of the most successful of these journalists was 'Abd Allāh Nadīm (1845-1896). Born in Alexandria in poor conditions, he displayed his talents early in life. He soon became one of the most able Arabic journalists of his day and, after publishing many articles in others' papers, founded his

257.

Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, pp. 520-525. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", *passim*. Article on Maḥmūd Bāshā Sāmī al-Bārūdī, in *Al-hilāl*, vol. XIII, Feb. 1, 1905, pp. 258-264. Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd. ed., vol. II, pp. 333 ss. Muḥammad Sabrī, "Adab wa-ta'rīkh", Book I, "Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī". Giffard, *op.cit.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 189-192.

258.

Cf. Galal, *op.cit.*, pp. 118, 123.

own, "Al-tankīt wa'l-tabkīt", its name being changed afterwards to "Al-tā'if". With brilliant satire, Nadīm devoted himself, in his journals and speeches, to resistance against foreign intervention. He was the only one of the leaders who did not surrender himself to the British, but hid for another nine years in various places in Egypt, until his arrest and exile 259.

Another who had a share in the guidance of the movement was al-Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905). This powerful personality, who has already been mentioned as the pupil of al-Afghānī and the collaborator of Sanua, was well versed and active in the philosophical and theological questions. He was well-known to the fallah officers

259.

Borg's despatch to Malet, dated Cairo, June 14, 1882, copy of which forms Enclosure No.1 (marked "Copy No.19") in F.O. 78/3438, Colvin's Political No. 366, to Granville, dated Alexandria, June 19, 1882. F.O.78/3439, Cartwright's Political No. 458, to Granville, dated H.M.S. "Monarch", Alexandria, July 12, 1882. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Al-thaura al-urābiya", pp.530-537. Article on "Al-Sayid 'Abd Allāh Nadīm", in Al-hilāl, vol.V, Feb.1, 1897, pp.401-408. Al-muqtataf, vol.VI, July 1881, p.127. Jurjī Zaidān, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-ḥadīth", 2nd ed., vol.II, pp.267, 268. Id. "Tarājim", 2nd.ed., vol.II, pp.105-112. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, op.cit., pp. 126-129. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", passim. M. Hartmann, "The Arabic press of Egypt", pp.22-23, 63. Biovès, op.cit., pp.123-124, 131, 156. G. Charnes, op.cit., in R.D.M., Aug.15, 1883, p.776. Galal, op.cit., pp.105-106, 107, 109-113, 119, 148.

by his articles on logic and education, his lessons of history in Madrasat dār al-ʿulūm and of Arabic in Madrasat al-alsun, as well as by his editorship of the Official Gazette, "Al-waḥqāʾiʿ al-miṣriya", through which he tried to create the rudiments of public opinion in Egypt. In his fight for reforms, Muḥammad ʿAbduh joined cause with the fallah officers and his advice often prevailed in their councils. Their views were too divergent, however, and soon ʿAbduh's prestige was on the decline, especially when he advised against the use of force. Nevertheless, he was prosecuted after the movement had been crushed and was exiled from Egypt for three years.²⁶⁰

260.

Blunt, *ibid.*, *passim*. Al-Rāfiʿī, "Al-thaura al-ʿurābiya", pp.537-543. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, "Taʾriḫ al-ustādh al-imām al-Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbduh", vol.I, pp.145-150. Cf. the obituaries in Al-diyāʾ, vol.VII, July 15, 1905, pp.597-599, and July 31, 1905, p.627. Al-jāmiʿa, vol.V, 1906, pp.32-35, 49-53, 133-137, 177-180. Article on "Al-Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbduh", in Al-hilāl, vol.XIII, Aug.1, 1905, pp.554-561. Question and answer "on "Limādhā nufiya al-Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbduh", *ibid.*, vol.XXXIII, Feb.1, 1925, p.555. Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd.ed., vol.I, pp.300-309. ʿUthmān Amīn, "Muḥammad ʿAbduh" ("ʿAlām al-islām" series), pp.61 ss. *Id.*, "Muḥammad ʿAbduh", in Al-kitāb, Jan.1946, pp.332-338. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Hammāda, "Muḥammad ʿAbduh wa-shahādātuḥu al-ʿāmiya", *ibid.*, Feb.1946, pp.529-532. H.A.R. Gibb, "Modern trends in Islam", pp.29, 33-34. C.C.Adams, "Islam and modernism in Egypt", pp.46, 152-157; cf. *ibid.*, pp.219-220. B.Michel et M.Abdel Razik, *op.cit.*, Introduction, pp.XLI - XLII. Biovès, *op.cit.*, p.39. Galal, *op.cit.*, p.116. See also M.Horten, "Muḥammad ʿAbduh" in Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients, vol.XIII, 1916, pp.83-114, and vol.XIV, 1917, pp.74-128.

It is difficult to determine exactly when or how the officers' secret society changed into a political party and then into a popular movement. Its organisation was at all times loose, and although it was often represented as a political party, this was so only by Egyptian standards. It was not organised on the lines of European political parties, though it used European party slogans and issued manifestoes which, when translated, bore a striking resemblance to political manifestoes in the United Kingdom or France.

Fostered by an awakening spirit of discontent, common to the Near East at the time and encouraged by European sympathisers, the National Party and the movement it led ended its short and turbulent career, without even having been able to achieve unity, ^{among} despite its divergent components.²⁶¹ Notwithstanding the fact that the movement was originally anti-Turkish, its leaders maintained secret relations with the Sultan in Constantinople and were at times

261.

Alexander, op.cit., pp.3-4. Hennebert, "Les anglais en Egypte, l'Angleterre et le Mâdhi Arabi et le Canal de Suez," pp.26-27.

encouraged by him.²⁶² The support and sympathy it received from many quarters²⁶³ give an impression that the movement was of national character, but this is doubtful²⁶⁴ because of the existing rudimentary nature of national consciousness in Egypt. Contributing

262.

F.O.78/3439, Cartwright's Political No.488, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated S.S."Tanjore", Alexandria, July 25, 1882. Cf. however F.O. 78/3618, Malet's Political No.637, to Granville, dated Alexandria, Sept.18, 1882, Enclosure 1, being a Memorandum by Beaman on letters and other material found in 'Urābī's house after his arrest. See also Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", pp.255 ss. Colvin, "The making of modern Egypt" (Nelson ed.), p.25. Edwin de Leon, "Egypt under its Khedives: or, the old house of bondage under new masters" (1882 ed.), prefatory chapter, pp.XVII-XVIII.

263.

Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", passim. D.M. Wallace, op.cit., pp.86-87, 104-105. Galal, op.cit., p.115.

264.

Colvin's Memorandum, dated Cairo, Dec.21, 1881, being Enclosure in 78/3326, Malet's Political No.389, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec.26, 1881. Colvin, "The making of modern Egypt", pp.24 ss. F.O. 78/3477, Baring's "Memorandum on the present situation in Egypt", marked "Very confidential", dated Simla, Sep.18, 1882, s 12 (printed for the use of the Cabinet, Oct.25, 1882, p.4). Cromer, "Modern Egypt", vol.I, pp.219, 221, 226-227. Van Bemmeln, op.cit., vol.II, pp.258-259. Anonymous, "La question égyptienne", 1881, pp.35-36. Hasenclever, op.cit., pp.200-201.

also to the impression was its strong religious tinge, the military leaders often using religious propaganda as a means towards the achievement of the avowed aim — the eviction of foreign elements from Egypt.

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CH. III. MISR AL-FATĀT.

Another secret society, claiming to be a political party, existed in Alexandria in the year 1879 and, judging by the absence of any prior mention, was probably founded not much earlier. Unlike the National Party, it was chiefly composed of intellectuals, and educated Jews played a large part in it²⁶⁵.

The leaders of the society were Muslims: the name of the President is not known, but Muḥammad Amīn, chief clerk of the Asyūt Court, was Vice-President, and Maḥmūd Wāṣif, the editor of "Al-ʿadl", was secretary (kātim al-asrār). These two induced ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm, already a well-known journalist, to join "Miṣr al-fatāt". Other prominent members included Adīb Ishāq and Salīm al-Naqqāsh. It was Nadīm who persuaded Muḥammad Amīn and Maḥmūd Wāṣif to leave Miṣr al-fatāt and found another society (not secret), named "Al-jamʿiyya al-khairiyya al-islāmiyya", which had a philanthropic and educational character.²⁶⁶

265.

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, op.cit., vol.I, p.75. Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, op.cit., p.107.

266.

Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd.ed., vol.II, pp.107-108. Article on "Al-Sayīd ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm", in Al-hilāl, vol.V, Feb.1, 1897, pp.403-404. Al-Rāfiʿī, "Al-thaura al-urābiyya", pp.531-532. Galal, op.cit., p.110.

Information about the meetings of Miṣr al-fatāt, which were held about once a week, was sent to Samua, who published it in a covert way in his "Abū Naḍḍāra"²⁶⁷. But the society contained enough talent to enable it to publish a paper of its own. So a periodical named "Miṣr al-fatāt" began to appear in Alexandria towards the end of the year 1879. Published first in French and then in Arabic, it criticised bitterly foreign influence in Egypt, and was banned by Riḡād Pasha, the Prime Minister, at the beginning of 1880. Its editor-in-chief was Adīb Ishāq, and Nadīm contributed to it²⁶⁸. This journal marked the peak of the party's political activity.

267.

Anonymous, "Egypt for the Egyptians. A retrospect and a prospect", p.103; cf. *ibid.*, pp.103-106.

268.

Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.75. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, *op.cit.*, p.107. Al-Rāfi'ī, *op.cit.*, pp.17, 19. M. Hartmann, *op.cit.*, p.84. Galal, *op.cit.*, pp.103-104, 105.

It was shortly after the accession of the Khedive Taufiq that the society or party published its "Project of reforms presented to His Highness Taufiq I, Khedive of Egypt, by the union of Egyptian youth". It was well written, and its demands were considered bold but just²⁶⁹.

The programme of the party, expressed in that project, was long and detailed²⁷⁰. It first expressed satisfaction with the new ruler being so young. Then it described the appalling economic and social conditions of the peasants, whose land was being taken away, and complained of the defects in the judiciary, administration and government of Egypt. It gave four reasons for the sufferings of the inhabitants: (1) Unification of all powers in a single person; (2) Lack of a law regulating the relations between the rulers and the ruled; (3) Lack of a well-defined and well-administered justice; (4) Inadequacy of public instruction.

269.

Letter from the Alexandria correspondent of the "Times", Jan. 30, 1882, quoted by B. Jerrold, "The Belgium of the East", p. 116. X, "Les courants politiques dans le milieu arabe" in R.M.M. (Revue du Monde Musulman), vol. XXV, Dec. 1913, p. 247, gives September, 1879, as the date when this Project was submitted to Taufiq.

270.

"Lā'ihat iṣlāḥ marfū'a ilā jalālat al-amīr Taufiq al-awwal, etc." E. Plauchut, "L'Egypte et l'occupation anglaise", pp. 110-121.

Then the programme spoke of projected reforms: the separation of governmental powers, the establishment of ministerial responsibility, equality before the law, inviolability of individual liberty and of domicile, liberty of religion and of the press, formation of the army by regular recruitment, guarantees of Egypt's public debts, no imposition of taxes without a special law, the creation of an independent house of representatives with well-defined powers, and free elections. Much space was allotted to judicial and financial reforms. As regards the latter, stress was laid on improvement in the collection of taxes and recommendations that it be fixed at harvest time.

In December, 1879, this "Union of Egyptian youth" published a special booklet devoted to the problems of the freedom of the Press. It appeared in French and Arabic simultaneously and was named respectively "La liberté de la presse" and "Hurriyat al-matābi' ". In this booklet they repeated what they had said in the petition presented to the Khedive Taufiq and enlarged on the same line of thought, viz., praising the advantages of a free Press and showing the disadvantages accruing from a Bureau de la presse.

These two programmes were well expressed and attacked trenchantly the evils from which the people suffered. The measures which they suggested, while theoretical and based on general principles, nevertheless seemed to offer a judicious solution to many of Egypt's problems. It would appear that the leaders of Miṣr al-fatāt were not content with asking for some paltry improvements; what they desired was sweeping reform in almost every branch of administration and life in Egypt. Their aspirations were higher and, at the same time, their demands more specific, than those of the National Party.

After the beginning of the year 1880 no further evidence is available about Miṣr al-fatāt. It may well be that the loss of Muḥammad Amīn, Maḥmūd Wāṣif, Nadīm and others enfeebled it considerably. Some of its members joined the National Party, but it is not clear whether this can be regarded as evidence of a merger of the two.

.....

CH. IV. AL-HIZB AL-WATANĪ.

After the 'Urābī Rebellion had been smashed and its leaders imprisoned or exiled, national resistance to foreign intervention and occupation in Egypt seemed at an end. As has often been the case in the near East, the movement died with the imprisonment of its leaders.

But in the first decade of the British Occupation there was still a great amount of dissatisfaction with British Control in Egypt. In Paris, James Sanua continued his anti-British propaganda and contributed to "Al-'urwa al-wuthqā" ⁽²⁷¹⁾. In Leghorn an Arabic fortnightly named "Al-inbā" ⁽²⁷²⁾ worked on behalf of the exiled leaders. Resistance to British rule in Egypt itself found expression in the following ways:

(271)

Cf. the selection "Al-'urwa al-wuthqā li'l-imāmain al-hakimain al-Sayid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī wa'l-Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh".

(272)

F.O.78/3558, Baring's Political No.444, marked "Confidential", to Granville, and Enclosure 1, dated Cairo, Oct.8, 1883.

1. In the French press. The French conducted propaganda against the British Occupation not only through their own organs in Egypt, but also by sponsoring and assisting Arabic newspapers. For instance, in 1886, the editor of the violently anti-British "Al-ittihād al-miṣrī" was a Frenchman (273).

2. In the vernacular press, inspired, and sometimes helped materially, by Yildiz Kiosk, as exemplified by 'Abd Allāh Nadīm's fiery denunciation of the British in the pages of his weekly, "Al-ustādh", between August 23, 1892, and June 13, 1893 (274).

Thus, though discontent and resentment against the Occupation were by no means uncommon (275), the only form of resistance and anti-British propaganda (synonymous terms at the time) was through journalistic activity in Egypt and abroad. It is difficult to assess, even

(273) F.O.78/3929, Portal's Confidential No.390, to Iddesleigh, dated Cairo, Sep.22, 1886, and Enclosures. F.O. 78/3930, Portal's No.410, to Iddesleigh, dated Cairo, Oct.9, 1886, and Enclosure.

(274) On the characteristics of 'Abd Allāh Nadīm's "Al-ustādh" see F.O.78/4513, Cromer's No.24, marked "Confidential", to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Jan.27, 1893, and Enclosure. Ibid., Cromer's No. 35, marked "Confidential", to Rosebery, dated Cairo, Feb.11, 1893, Enclosure. F.O.78/4514, Cromer's No.59, marked "Confidential", to Rosebery, dated Cairo, March 18, 1893, and Enclosures.

(275) For a long "Very Confidential" report by Baring on the state of public feeling in Egypt, illustrating the above-mentioned sentiments, cf. F.O.78/4050, Baring's No.562 to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec.14, 1887.

approximately, the degree of influence of the press on the Egyptian masses at the time; probably it was not considerable, because of the very high percentage of illiteracy among the fallahin; but it succeeded in keeping alive the resentment against foreigners in general, and the British in particular, among the educated classes in the large cities of Egypt. It was the task of politicians to direct this resentment of the educated Egyptian into the channels of an organised party with national watchwords.

The apathy towards political life, so characteristic of the fallahin up to the time of 'Urābī's (276) rebellion, changed during the British Occupation. It is true that as late as 1895, O. Borelli, one of the Europeans best acquainted with Egypt, remarked that neither the fallahin nor the Copts took any notice of (277) politics. The progress of education in Egypt, the

(276)

Cf., for the end of 1881, Copy of L. Loriai's Memorandum, F.O. 78/3326, Malet's Political No. 335, marked "Confidential", to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 17, 1881, Enclosure.

(277)

O. Borelli, "Choses politiques d'Egypte 1883-1895", Preface, pp. X-XI.

growth of the native press and the material improvement in the conditions of life contributed largely towards a change in the general attitude towards politics. The educated Egyptian began to like politics because participation in them attracted the public attention. Inflammatory articles in the Arabic, French and (to a lesser extent) Italian press, which enjoyed full liberty, abetted this interest in politics.

The practical outcome of this, among the educated Egyptians, was the formation of certain groups, whose various attitudes towards the Occupation gave them their character and their purpose. Indeed, it is this attitude which is the point of differentiation among all political groups and parties in Egypt until well after the First World War. Membership was often based more on personal ties than on political convictions. It frequently happened that adherents of one leader or another changed their allegiance; few were willing to make sacrifices on behalf of their group ⁽²⁸⁾.

(28)

Cf. article on "Ta'rikh al-ahzāb al-siyāsīya" in Al-hilāl, vol.XVI, Dec.1, 1907, p.148. The author does not attach much importance to the official foundation of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī five weeks before his article was printed.

As a result of the decisive defeat of 1882, a group of politicians, led by the Khedive Taufiq, appraised the new conditions at their real value and expressed readiness to co-operate with Great Britain and help it almost unconditionally.

If there were, in the first decade of the Occupation, any Egyptians who wanted to continue the struggle for independence, they could not have been many, and seem to have preferred not to proclaim their views. In the meanwhile, they joined other groups antagonistic to the Occupation and deriving their strength either from help proffered by the Ottoman Empire — the Sultan being interested in restoring his suzerainty over Egypt de facto — or by France, embittered over Great Britain's single-handed occupation of Egypt. These latter groups were apprehensive of British designs on what remained of Egypt's autonomy and were intent upon gradually winning concessions⁽¹⁷⁹⁾.

(179)

Kamal Eldin Galal, "Entstehung und Entwicklung, etc.", pp.129-130; W.S. Blunt, "The new Egyptian nationalism", in the Independent Review, vol. XI, Oct.1906, pp.30-31. See also A. Milner, "England in Egypt" (1902 ed.), App.I, "Egypt in 1894", pp.370-371. Jurji Zaidan, "Tarājim", 2nd ed., vol.I, p.318.

A passage from "Egypt in 1898" by the journalist G.W. Steevens is revealing:

"After lunch ... we talked politics. And I very quickly perceived that my pasha, a personal friend of many British, was no friend of Britain in Egypt.

"'I am in opposition? No; I am no longer minister, but here, unhappily, there is no opposition'.

"I said I had gathered that, one way or another, there was a gooddeal.

"'Yes; but what is it?' he cried. 'Here there is no party government, no constitutional government, no public opinion. Here we must sit and obey our masters'!"⁽²⁸⁰⁾.

This short conversation with an Egyptian ex-minister, whose name, unfortunately, is not mentioned, is illustrative of the political conditions in Egypt during the first years of the Occupation: no public opinion, no real political parties, but a great deal of opposition to the British.

(280)

G.W. Steevens, "Egypt in 1898", p.209.

In this unorganised opposition a number of former partisans of 'Urābī took part, probably encouraged by the Khedive 'Abbās II. The anti-Turkish element of 'Urābī's Rebellion had almost disappeared by then, and the anti-European element was more pronounced⁽²⁸⁴⁾. Other dissatisfied elements were provided by the remnants of the old Turkish and Circassian class, angered at the disregard shown by the Occupation towards their former privileges. These people conspired, on a small scale, with Constantinople, possibly through Mukhtār Pasha, who was a kind of Commissioner of the Porte in Egypt. Several of them petitioned the Sultan time and again to interfere in the affairs of Egypt with a view to hastening the evacuation of the British. All these had every reason to be Anglophobes.

The same applied to discontented Government officials, impatient of promotion. Many of these were organised in a so-termed "Patriotic society" (*Jam'īya wataniya*), which, though professing to be a benevolent association, often provided occasions for political discussion. This society, centred at Cairo, had branches

(284)

F.O. 78/5176, Cromer's No. 85, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, June 10, 1897.

in Mansūra and Zagazig, and in the early 90's fomented an anti-Syrian agitation in the name of "Egypt for the Egyptians", their main wish, at the time, being to oust the many Syrians in Government employment from their posts. (281)

This opposition to the British was cleverly employed by a youth named Muṣṭafā Kāmil, at the end of the nineteenth century, to form a well-organised group which he moulded into a political party, avowedly anti-British in its character.

Muṣṭafā Kāmil's life was very closely connected with the creation of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, as his party came eventually to be known. The development of this party, even after his death and to a certain extent up to the present day, still bears the mark of his personality.

Born in Cairo on August 14, 1874, Muṣṭafā Kāmil soon displayed his talents and, at school, earned praise for his proficiency in Arabic. He continued his studies

(282)

F.O. 78/4387, Hardinge's No. 218, marked "Secret", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Sept. 19, 1891. F.O. 141/301, "From Miscellaneous" No. 70, A. Nicolson's despatch to Hardinge, dated Therapia, Aug. 2, 1893, and Enclosure. F.O. 141/357, No. 54, O'Connor's despatch, marked "Confidential", to Cromer, dated Constantinople, Feb. 15, 1900, and Enclosure, being Copy of Adam Block's Memorandum, dated Feb. 14, 1900.

at the Law School, and it is from this period that his journalistic activity became pronounced. Previous to this, in 1893, he published an Arabic monthly called "Al-madrasa", the first school-magazine in modern Egypt⁽²⁸³⁾. But he had also tried his hand at writing articles for various Arabic newspapers.

The first turning-point in his career came when he went to France to complete his law studies, through the munificence of one of his relatives⁽²⁸⁴⁾. In Paris and Toulouse, Kāmil had occasion to study not only law, but also the political tactics and the methods of party organisation and propaganda in France.

An Anglophobe French statesman, Deloncle, introduced Muṣṭafā Kāmil to the high literary and political society of Paris. Thus Kāmil became acquainted with Juliette Adam, one of the leading figures of French literary circles in the second half of the nineteenth

(283)

Article on "Muṣṭafā Kāmil wa'l-nahḍa al-siyāsīya", in *Al-hilāl*, vol. XVI, Mar. 1, 1908, p. 326; cf. *ibid.*, vol. XVII, Feb. 1, 1909, p. 318. *Al-Rāfi'ī*, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", pp. 28-30; M. Hartmann, "The Arabic press of Egypt", p. 22, 69; J. Alexander, "The truth about Egypt", p. 29; Galal, *op.cit.*, p. 154; Diaeddine Saleh, "Les pouvoirs du roi, etc.", p. 155.

(284)

Muḥammad Husain Haikal's assertion, in his "Tarājim miṣrīya wa-gharbiya", p. 144, that Kāmil was sent to France on a scholarship granted to him by the Khedive 'Abbās II, has yet to be proved and does not seem to be very likely.

century. She had "discovered" and encouraged gifted writers like Pierre Loti, Paul Bourget and Guy de Maupassant, who used to call her, just as Kamil did, "Mother". Perceiving Kamil's talents, she encouraged him. She herself was an Anglophobe, and had given literary support to liberal movements in Portugal, Hungary, Roumania, and Greece. She not only presented him to statesmen and writers, but guided him constantly with her advice from 1895 up to 1908⁽²⁸⁵⁾.

Mustafā Kāmil was the first Egyptian who, throughout his career, understood the great importance of propaganda. In Al-mu'ayyad of August 1895, he had already written to this effect⁽²⁸⁶⁾. He assumed the role of spokesman for Egypt, not only in his correspondence with Gladstone⁽²⁸⁷⁾, but also in France during his student days and in his later visits to that country, as well as

(285)

There are several works on Juliette Adam. Cf., e.g., Winifred Stephens, "Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber) la grande française from Louis Philippe until 1917".

(286)

Quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", p.43.

(287)

Besides al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, pp.56-60, cf., for the text of the letters exchanged between Gladstone and Mustafā Kāmil, "Echo d'Orient" of Jan.28, 1896, being Enclosure in F.O. 78/4761, Cromer's No.10, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Jan.28, 1896. Cf. the same paper, of Feb.28, 1896, being Enclosure in F.O., *ibid.*, Cromer's No.24, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.29, 1896. For Kāmil's letters, addressed in the same year to Cromer, and dated respectively Mar.23 and 25, 1896, see F.O.141/322, No.51.

in his political voyages to London, Berlin, Vienna and Budapest. It was he who did most, at the time, to spread in Europe propaganda against the Occupation²⁸⁸ (10).

As early as July, 1895, a booklet by Kāmil, named "Conférence sur l'Egypte faite à Toulouse, le jeudi 4 juillet 1895, à l'amphithéâtre de la faculté des lettres", was published in Toulouse. It contained Kāmil's speech before the journalists of Toulouse and a large body of Frenchmen. After thanking his hosts, Kāmil accused Great Britain of disregard for international conventions in occupying Egypt and remaining there for so long. He described what he considered the worthlessness of British reforms in Egypt, and attacked the British influence on and policy towards the Egyptian ministries of education, interior, finance and justice.

Continuing, Kāmil denied British allegations about the existence of fanaticism in Egypt. Using financial arguments, he tried to prove that the liberation of Egypt from British rule would be in the interest of Europe and that, moreover, it was the duty of France to

²⁸⁸
(10)

See his "Egyptian-French letters", passim. Alexander, op.cit., pp.29 ss. Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal, "Tarājim misriya wa-gharbiya", p.151.

take the initiative in the liberation of Egypt. This lecture, Kāmil's first before a large public assembly, was warmly received. It was quite well prepared and its success moved Kāmil to continue along the same lines in his other speeches in France.

But Muṣṭafā Kāmil felt that his real life-work was in Egypt; and upon returning, he succeeded in organising a group of people who, like himself, sought to infuse the people with national consciousness. This ever-growing group was to be the core of Kāmil's party, which was finally founded officially only in 1907. But it was designated by that name by Egyptians and Europeans alike, not excluding the British diplomatic representatives in Egypt²⁸⁹ (~~10a~~), from the time of its early formation at the end of the nineteenth century.

²⁸⁹
(~~10a~~)

E.g., F.O. 78/5024, Rennell Rodd's No.163, marked "Secret", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Aug.25,1899. Ibid., Rodd's No.176, marked "Secret", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Sep.16,1899. H. Boyle's Note, dated May 25,1900, being Enclosure in F.O. 78/5087, Cromer's No.97, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 26, 1900.

Among the men who organised this group in 1897, the most prominent, besides Kāmil, were: Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd, afterwards editor of "Al-jarīda"; Muḥammad Farīd, Kāmil's successor in the leadership of the party; Muḥammad 'Uthmān (the father of Amīn 'Uthmān Pasha); Labīb Muḥarram ('Uthmān Muḥarram Pasha's brother; and Sa'īd al-Shīmī²⁹⁰ (~~106~~).

In order to achieve their two primary aims — making ardent patriots of all Egyptians and convincing foreign Powers of Egypt's right to be free of "iniquitous" British rule — Kāmil and his followers used three means in particular:

- a. journalistic activity;
- b. lecturing on Egyptian national ideas at home and abroad;
- c. increasing education.

²⁹⁰
(~~106~~)

Salāma Mūsā, op.cit., in Al-kātib al-miṣrī, No.10, July 1946, p.294. I shall call this party "Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī", to distinguish it from 'Urābī's party, which I have consistently named "The National Party".

It was not by mere chance that, during the first years of his political life, Mustafā Kāmil concentrated his attention on journalism. It must be remembered that journalism was the only practical political battleground in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. While at the end of Khedive Ismā'īl's rule there was in Cairo only one Arabic newspaper, twenty years later, in 1898, there were 50 Arabic dailies⁽²⁹¹⁾, and in the whole of Egypt nearly 200 journals and newspapers⁽²⁹²⁾. During five years, from 1895-1900, about 500 newspapers and periodicals were founded in Egypt, most of which, indeed, were very short-lived.⁽²⁹³⁾

The increase in the number of newspapers went hand in hand with an increase in the number of their readers, as education progressed in Egypt. A newspaper afforded a connecting link between its readers. Thus,

(291).

Article on "Al-jarā'id fī'l-quṭr al-misrī" in Al-ḍiyā', vol.I, 1898-1899, pp.4-12.

(292)

G. Young, "Egypt", pp.179-180.

(293)

Galal, op.cit., p.133.

while in Europe groups and parties created their organs, in Egypt groups formed round an already existing newspaper, and after a certain time grew into parties, the main interests and activity of which still continued to be centred around their organ. This had been the case, to a lesser extent, during the late 70's and early 80's of the nineteenth century and the same was still the case with the development of almost every political party in Egypt up to the first World War (24).

Mustafā Kāmil was aware of the great importance of having a newspaper of his own, for propagating his views and ideas and for strengthening the ties with those elements whom, eventually, he might shape into a political party.

"Al-liwā" — "The Standard" — was the significant name given by Kāmil to his Arabic daily, which appeared for the first time in Cairo, on January 2, 1900. It was founded as a reaction to the disappointment felt by Kāmil and others in the attitude of "Al-mu'ayyad" (25).

(24)

Ibid., pp. 132, 136-137. 'Aṭṭāra, "Ta'rīkh takwīn al-suhuf al-misriya", p. 143. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp. 157-158. Michelangelo Guidi, op.cit., in An. Semmarco & others, "Egitto moderno," pp. 144 ss.

(25)

Galal, op.cit., p. 149.

In the first issue, which ran to four pages, Kāmil sketched the programme and policy of his paper in general terms: "Al-liwā" was to serve the Umma and Islam in honourable and practical ways; to strengthen the relations among Egyptians as well as among Muslims; to improve the education, economy and industry of Egypt.

Some of the best literary talent of Egypt at the time contributed to "Al-liwā", notably Ahmad Shauqī and Khalīl Mutrān. But the character of "Al-liwā" was decidedly political and not literary. In the first seven years of the twentieth century it not only propagated patriotic ideas with great eloquence but also gathered around it practically all extremist national elements, for the most part anti-British. "Al-liwā" employed just the same methods as Al-hizb al-waṭanī: bitter attacks on the Occupation, and insistence on the absolute necessity of independence for Egypt and the Sudan (296).

(296)

For the interest displayed by "Al-liwā" in everything which happened in the Sudan, as early as 1900, see F.O. 78/5086, Cromer's No.25, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Feb.8, 1900, and Enclosures. Also Enclosure 6 in F.O. 78/5087, Cromer's No.91, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 12, 1900. One cannot help suspecting Kāmil, in spite of the lack of evidence, of having some secret connection with a clandestine society of officers, the headquarters of which were in Cairo; Egyptian officers from all parts of the Sudan — a large branch existed at Omdurman — were continually corresponding with the headquarters of the society. Cf. "Rough notes by Colonel Jackson", being Enclosure 3 in F.O. 78/5086, Cromer's private letter to Sanderson, dated Cairo, Feb.17, 1900.

They often cited glorious examples from the histories of Egypt and other countries. No important event in Egypt or abroad, political or otherwise, which Kāmil thought might be of interest to his readers, escaped notice in the columns of "Al-liwā".

At the end of the year 1900, Kāmil was already publishing a supplement to Al-liwā, called "Majallat al-liwā", which was sent free of charge twice every month to all the subscribers of the former (²⁹⁷~~15b~~). Moreover, the press of Al-liwā was occasionally used for books and pamphlets of propaganda. It also published the greater part of Kāmil's speeches in booklet form. As early as January 1901, it issued an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Akhlāq wa-ādāb ahlām al-ahlām", in which the social life and general conditions of Egypt were criticised in the literary device of dreams (²⁹⁸~~15c~~). Even people like Jurjī Zaidān, who had no great sympathy with Kāmil's political views, recognised that the publication of Al-liwā opened a new chapter in the history of the Arabic press in Egypt (²⁹⁹~~15d~~).

(²⁹⁷~~15b~~.)

Cf. Al-hilāl, vol. IX, Dec. 1, 1900, p. 157.

(²⁹⁸~~15c~~.)

Ibid., Jan. 15, 1901, p. 254.

(²⁹⁹~~15d~~.)

Article on "Ta'rīkh al-nahḍa al-ṣiḥāfiya fī l-lughah al-'arabiya", ibid., vol. XVIII, May 1, 1910, pp. 488-489.

The success of Al-liwā' and its growing popularity (it is alleged that it reached a circulation of 10,000³⁰⁰(~~15e~~)) prompted Kāmil to plan the launching of two new dailies, one in English and the other in French, on the same lines as Al-liwā'³⁰¹(~~15f~~). For this purpose, he founded a Limited Company — the first of its kind in Egypt — with a capital of £E.20,000, subscribed for the most part by Egyptians (November 1906). A month later he was in Europe, together with his devoted friend Muḥammad Farīd (1868-1919), looking for staff for his two new papers and buying the necessary machinery. He found an editor in an Irish nationalist journalist and was promised contributions from eminent persons in Great Britain and France.

"L'Etandard Egyptien" appeared for the first time on the evening of March 2, 1907, while "The Egyptian Standard" came out on the following morning. It is

³⁰⁰
(~~15e~~)

X, "Les courants politiques dans le milieu arabe", in R.M.M., vol.XXV, Dec.1913, p.255.

³⁰¹
(~~15f~~)

For Kāmil's decision to publish these two newspapers cf. Al-liwā', Aug.5, 23, and 30, 1906, quoted by L. Bouvat, "La presse musulmane", *ibid.*, vol.I, Dec.1906, p.280.

Noticeable that both names were just a translation of "Al-liwā"; and such was the case with their contents, too, with some adaptation to the tastes and opinions of their European readers³⁰² (~~16~~). Their avowed aims were to defend the rights of Egypt and the Egyptians and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the foreigners living in Egypt³⁰³ (~~17~~). In pursuing their first aim too energetically, they rather confirmed the suspicions and apprehensions of foreign residents in Egypt and thereby defeated their second aim³⁰⁴ (~~17a~~).

Besides managing and contributing to various French and English newspapers, Muṣṭafā Kāmil spent much time and energy in making speeches. He was a good orator,

³⁰²
(~~16~~)

"L'Etendard Egyptien" and "The Egyptian Standard" had few Egyptian subscribers, but many of Turkish and Circassian origin — cf. J. Alexander, op.cit., p.39 — probably because the latter still did not care to read Arabic.

³⁰³
(~~17~~)

J. Alexander, ibid., pp.38-40; al-Rāfi'ī, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", pp.245-247; Fikrī Abwāza, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil fī sanat 1948", in Al-hilāl, vol.LVI, Feb.1948, p.10.

³⁰⁴
(~~17a~~)

Specimens of the contents of L'Etendard Egyptien are given in the notes on "La presse musulmane", in R.M.M., vol.III, No.10, Oct.1907, pp.369-370.

and his eloquence enabled him to captivate his listeners' interest. His tireless efforts are expressed in his letters to Mme. Juliette Adam (published posthumously under the name of "Egyptian-French letters"), where he tells of his satisfaction with the results of his speeches before exultant audiences.

One of the fields in which Kāmil engaged himself directly — for the greater part of his activity consisted of articles and speeches — was education. He often accused the British of having neglected education, and of bending their efforts exclusively towards the improvement of the material conditions of the Egyptians. In this, he forgot to take into account that education cannot stride forward as rapidly as material prosperity.

In a period when aversion to the education of woman was almost general in Muslim Egypt, he propagated the idea of educating Egyptian girls, so that they should make good mothers and loyal wives³⁰⁵~~(18)~~. Egyptian boys

³⁰⁵
(18)

Cf. his speech in Arabic at Cairo, Dec. 23, 1898, trans. into French in M. Kamel, "Égyptiens et anglais", p. 204; and his lecture in French at the Salon de Mme. Adam, Paris, June 18, 1899 — *ibid.*, p. 223.

should be encouraged to devote themselves to the study of crafts and technics³⁰⁶. The opening of each new school met with his applause and he inspired rich Egyptians to donate funds towards the furtherance of education³⁰⁷. He played a great part in establishing a free school at al-Hilmiya, Cairo, at the beginning of 1899³⁰⁸.

Soon Kāmil decided that only a school under his own supervision could produce a large number of "truly patriotic" Egyptians. This showed a realistic appreciation of the country's need at that time. Two of his wealthy followers enabled him to realise this desire by endowing a school in his name and entrusting its administration to him. Kāmil announced in a letter to "Al-mu'ayyad" dated March 28, 1899, that the

306.

E.g., his article in Al-liwā', Oct. 25, 1900, quoted in al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", p. 150.

307.

E.g., his speech in Arabic at Cairo, Dec. 18, 1899, trans. into French in M. Kamel, "Égyptiens et anglais", p. 241. Cf. F.O. 78/5024, Cromer's No. 215, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Dec. 23, 1899, and Enclosure.

308.

Al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", pp. 138-139.

Madrasat Mustafā Kāmil would impart a good national education on Muslim lines, together with a thorough grounding in Arabic and optional courses in French or English ³⁰⁹. This school seems to have proved a signal success in the years immediately following.

Mustafā Kāmil was also, as far as we know, the first to advocate the creation of an Egyptian University. In *Al-liwā'* of October 26, 1904, he pointed out the great need of the Egyptians for such an institution. In February, 1905, he returned to the same project and suggested in some of his articles (e.g., *Al-liwā'*, 8.1.1905) that the University should be called *Kullīyat Muḥammad 'Alī*, to mark the centenary of Muḥammad 'Alī's seizure of power³¹⁰. Collections were begun for this project, but the donations proved to be insufficient. Still Kāmil did

309.

Ibid., pp.139-140; Galal, *op.cit.*, pp.156-158; *Atṭāra*, *op.cit.*, p.144.

310.

The hundredth anniversary of that event, according to the computation of the Muslim calendar, had been celebrated by Kāmil in a speech before 3,000 persons. See *La Réforme*, May 22, 1902, being Enclosure 1 in F.O. 78/5226, Cromer's No. 75, marked "Confidential", to Lansdowne, dated Cairo, May 23, 1902. Cf. *al-Rāfi'ī*, "Mustafā Kāmil", pp.161-166, for passages from Kāmil's speech and its echoes in the local press.

not despair and in an interesting letter to Muḥammad Farīd dated Paris, September 24, 1906, he reiterated his belief that the best present which patriotic Egyptians might give their country was a university³¹¹.

Summing up, we find that at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century Mustafā Kāmil was engaged in disseminating his ideas in Egypt and abroad, through his papers, his articles in French and English journals, and his public talks and interviews; he also sought to forward national education, both elementary and high.

In all these various activities his winning personality enabled him to collect a group of admiring friends and disciples. In the name of this group he acted and spoke. But, after a time, he realised that greater efficiency might be achieved if these unorganised adherents were formed into a regular party on the Western model.

311.

Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, pp. 240-241. Kamel, "Egyptian-French letters," pp. 170, 172, 206. J. Alexander, *op.cit.*, part III, ch. VI. Germain Martin, "L'université égyptienne", in *R.M.M.*, vol. XIII, No. 1, Jan. 1911, pp. 4 ss. H. Kohn, "Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient", pp. 151 - 152.

Certain events facilitated this task for him, by creating an atmosphere favourable for the formation of a radical party with extreme anti-British views. Many Egyptians were very disappointed when France signed the 1904 Entente with Great Britain. In the Russo-Japanese war of 1904/5 an Oriental people, whose strength had been unknown beforehand, vanquished what was then considered one of the great Christian Powers of Europe. This victory awoke great excitement and interest in the Near East (Muṣṭafā Kāmil then wrote a book on the new Japan³¹²). The Tāba frontier incident in 1906³¹³ stirred the feelings of the Egyptians still further against the British, in sympathy with their co-religionists, the Turks. The "Denishwāi Incident" was also exploited by Kāmil and the vernacular Press for bitter anti-British propaganda.³¹⁴

312.

"Al-shams al-mushriqa, first part, Maṭba'at Al-liwā', 1904;p.222.

313.

On this incident see P.P. Graves, "Briton and Turk", ch.IV.

314.

On the Denishwāi Incident cf., inter alia, M.Kamel, "Egyptian-French letters", pp.246-248. J.Alexander, op.cit., part I, ch.III. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", pp.200 ss., 237-245, 368-369, 383-384. A. Hasenclever, op.cit., pp. 452-455.

Up to 1907 Mustafā Kāmil and his adherents regarded themselves as spokesmen of the new Egypt rather than a political party, though, even as early as 1896, they did occasionally style themselves "Al-hizb al-waṭanī" — "The National Party" — particularly to the reporters of foreign newspapers³¹⁵. But feeling that the time was ripe for a well-organised political party, and anxious to be able to combat the new parties that were then being formed with the support of the Khedive 'Abbās II and Lord Cromer, and perhaps, too, because he felt that his own days were coming to an end, in this year Kāmil began to prepare the ground for the official foundation of his Hizb. It is interesting to compare this with the emergence of the Waḡd as a political party seventeen years later. It, too, from 1918-1924, maintained that it represented the Egyptian people only, but was then forced by similar circumstances to organize itself in party form.

In the "Figaro" of May 8, 1907, Kāmil published a detailed programme of his party, to which we will revert later. On October 7 of that year, Kāmil returned from Europe to Alexandria, and three days later proclaimed in

315.

Cf. Kāmil's interview with the correspondent of the New York Herald in Constantinople, quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, p.81.

Al-liwā' that "the time has come to establish for the "National Party (Al-hizb al watani) a complete organisation to include all its adherents and friends who for "many years have been participating in every way with us "in patriotic works."³¹⁶

Acting on this purpose, Mustafā Kāmil addressed a meeting of about 6,000 people in the Ziziniā Theatre at Alexandria on October 22, 1907. It was his greatest public meeting and he meant it to be a general call for membership³¹⁷. Kāmil spoke of Egyptian national life after the Entente of 1904 and the important advances made by the National Movement, in spite of the English; he was sure that national self-reliance was the way to independence. He then called the people to join Al-hizb al-watani.

The speech had a considerable effect in Egypt and was summarized by many French newspapers and

316.

Al-liwā', Oct. 10, 1907, quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, p. 263.

317.

The speech in Arabic was published in extenso in al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", pp. 468-500; for a good English translation, see the pamphlet "What the National Party wants. Speech delivered on October 22, 1907, in the Ziziniā Theatre at Alexandria by H.E. Moustafa Kamel Pasha", printed by the Egyptian Standard, Cairo, n.d.; 36 pp.

periodicals³¹⁸. Applications for membership in the Hizb came from all parts of Egypt. Its first great meeting was in the Al-liwā' building in Cairo five days later³¹⁹. It was a solemn function, attended by Egyptians of all classes and professions: notables and farmers, lawyers and engineers, employers and workers, etc. According to the invitations presented at the door, there were 1,019 at the meeting, another 846 excusing themselves by telegram and letter.

In the opening speech by Kāmil, he first declared that the National Party had already long been in existence, and it was now time to organize it. He continued with an outline of the ideals which the Hizb should follow: education for all Egyptians, greater understanding with other peoples, special care for the lot of the fallah.

318.

Cf. A.L.C., "Le parti national. — Denshawâi", in R.M.M., vol.III, Nos.11-12, Nov.-Dec. 1907, pp.502-503.

319.

The correct date, October 27, 1907, is mentioned in Mustafā Kāmil's letters and various other Arabic sources, as well as by reliable European writers. J.Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", p.194, and C. Brockelmann, "Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten", p.412, should be corrected accordingly.

Then, matters proceeded on the lines of a European meeting. Maḥmūd Anīs eulogised Kāmīl and proposed him for president of the Hizb: he was elected unanimously.

Then Fu'ād Salīm read the *Lā'ihat al-hizb*, the 'programme' or 'statutory rules'. This was debated, paragraph by paragraph, and at last a final version was adopted.

According to these statutory rules, Muṣṭafā Kāmīl was chosen leader of the Party for life. A general assembly under the name of "National Assembly" (*Al-mu'tamar al-waṭanī*), was to meet each year to elect an Administrative Board (*Al-lajna al-idāriya*), to examine the budget of the Party and discuss its activities, to debate proposals by the members and to pass resolutions for the welfare of Egypt. The proceedings of the Assembly to be published annually.

The Executive Board was to consist of thirty members besides the President, elected for three years, and meeting at least once a month. It would elect from its members two vice-presidents (Wakīlān), a secretary, a treasurer and an executive committee of eight (*Lajna tanfīdhīya*), to include the first vice-president, the secretary and the treasurer. The Lajna tanfīdhīya was

to meet at least once a week and execute the decisions of the Laina idāriya³²⁰. A central club of the Party was to be founded, with branches throughout the country³²¹.

This was the first real organisation of a political Party in modern Egypt, and proved to be so efficient that, even after Kāmil's death and when its popularity was on the wane, it still remained a factor in political life.

It was in the article in "Figaro" of May 8, 1907, referred to above, that Kāmil gave clear, not to say dogmatic, expression to the programme of his new party. It was in six paragraphs, and demanded:

- Formation of an active Ministry, responsible to Parliament, to receive advice but not orders from the British Advisers (§§ 1-3);
- Various improvements in education (§ 4);
- The gradual replacement of foreign officials by capable Egyptians (§ 5);
- Reform of the Capitulations by enhancing the powers of the Mixed Tribunals³²².

320. For the first members elected to the various Boards cf. al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", p.270.

321. Id., ibid., pp.267-270; J. Adam, op.cit., pp.194-197. Little else is known about the internal organisation of this Party.

322. See the complete programme of demands in J. Alexander, op.cit., pp.117-118.

These demands, which aimed at constitutional, administrative and judicial reforms, were more moderate than might have been expected; and this may be accounted for by the desire to impress French public opinion with the moderation and freedom from fanaticism of Kāmil's followers. The longer list of demands of the Hizb, read at the large meeting of October 22, 1907, and approved five days later by the meeting of the Party, was somewhat more outspoken, though still moderate in its terms³²³.

First of all the programme demanded "the autonomy of Egypt as established in 1840". This seemed to differ from the vociferous sine qua non demand of Kāmil and his partisans for a "Jalā'" (Evacuation). The second demand was quite in keeping with the growing claim for representative government and institutions, then gaining ground in Egypt³²⁴, under the influence of

323.

See App.9. Text in "What the national party wants", pp.28-29; same in J. Alexander, op.cit., pp.121-123. For the Arabic version see Al-hilāl, Feb.1948, p.15. For a French translation see J. Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", pp.195-197.

324.

As has been explained at greater length in the chapters dealing with the Parliamentary institutions in Egypt.

constitutional developments in Russia and Turkey. The third paragraph was only meant to calm the apprehensions of Egypt's public creditors, and had appeared in the programme of 'Urābī's 'National Party', in a very similar way and for the very same reason. The fourth was a formal statement of those criticisms of the Government of Egypt which Kāmil and his group had been making for years. The next four demands advocated general education, in order to increase the welfare and prosperity of the Egyptians and bring about the political union of Muslims and Copts (a union which it was one of Kāmil's main goals to achieve). The ninth paragraph was also intended to soothe the susceptibilities of the foreigners in Egypt. The final paragraph dealt with the necessity of strengthening Egypt's ties of friendship and polity with other peoples and nations, notably the Ottoman Empire.

In general, this programme, though hardly feasible at the time, was not unrealistic and it established definite lines of action for Al-hizb al-waṭanī, closely following the lines of Kāmil's previous activity. It is typical of the mentality of the leading political men of Egypt at the time that the programme was mainly political and constitutional, showing a lively concern for education, but with little

attention to economic matters and practically no mention of social problems. This was to be the attitude of most of the Egyptian political parties, and was probably due to the material prosperity of Egypt under the British occupation.

Mustafā Kāmil worked ceaselessly for the success of his party up to the day of his death, about four months later. His funeral occasioned a spontaneous display of sorrow by the whole of Egypt — the first of its kind in the living memory of the land. But Al-hizb al-waṭanī was too well organised to fall asunder, even after such a blow. It continued to function under the leadership of Kāmil's faithful lieutenants and continues in existence to the present day.

Let us look at the general lines of orientation and policy of Al-hizb al-waṭanī (both as a group and as a party), as determined by Kāmil and his advisers.

The most important characteristic of Al-hizb al-waṭanī, both under the leadership of Mustafā Kāmil and that of his successors was its essentially political nature: a political party employing political means. Mustafā Kāmil had that knowledge and understanding of international politics which his predecessors in 'Urābī's

days lacked. Deeming it impossible for Independence and Occupation to dwell together, he and his adherents inscribed "Al-jalā" (Evacuation) on their political standard.

Kāmil is known to have devoted much time to the study of the Egyptian Question. The first lesson he learned from the course of the 'Urābī movement and its failure was that the English had profited from the disunion between the national movement and the Khedive. For a long time he kept in contact with 'Abbās II³²⁵ and even when he had good relations with him no longer, Kāmil abstained from quarrelling with him publicly, so that the British should not turn it to their profit.

The second lesson which he drew from it was that ignorance was the worst internal enemy of the Egyptians. Hence his ardent advocacy of large-scale education in Egypt, in all his important speeches and many of his articles; and hence the foundation of the school which bore his name. It was the merit of Kāmil and his Party that they opened the eyes of the Egyptians to the value of education.

325.

For Mustafā Kāmil's relations with the Khedive, with hints of some secret dealings between them, cf. F.O.78/4763, Cromer's No.131, to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Oct.29, 1896. F.O.78/4863, Cromer's No.86, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, June 12, 1897. F.O.78/5087, Cromer's No.97, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 26, 1900.

The third lesson which Kāmil had learned from the failure of 'Urābī was that the union of all Egyptians was essential for the Evacuation and Independence. From 1896 onwards³²⁶, in his speeches and articles, he worked to organise Egyptian public opinion. It was his constant care to unify all the diverse elements among the people, for he was convinced, as he said in a speech at the Italian Theatre at Cairo, that the real enemy of the Egyptians was not Great Britain, but disunity³²⁷. As late as March, 1907, he could promise Egypt Independence if only it would unite³²⁸.

The propaganda of Kāmil and his adjutants was typical of the "White and Black propaganda", afterwards adopted with even greater success by Zaghlūl. In the speeches of Kāmil and in the articles of Al-liwā' all Egyptians were divided into two parts: the patriots, who fought for independence, and the Occupationists (**muhtallūn**), who aided the British. The latter were attacked bitterly and described by name in black colours, which was very painful for many sensitive Egyptians. These tactics

326.

Cf. al-Rāfi'ī, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", p.61.

327. Speech delivered on Dec.18, 1899; see relevant passages in Al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, p.142; cf. French trans. in M.Kamel, "Egyptiens et Français", pp.238-240.

328. Speech in Arabic at the Continental Hotel, Mar.2, 1907, quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, p.247.

succeeded less in bringing over new adherents to Al-hizb al-waṭanī than in silencing many of its opponents, for a time at least³²⁹.

It is more than doubtful if Kāmil or his chief adherents, most of them members of well-to-do families, actually appreciated the great social gap between the rich and the fallāhin, with no influential middle-class to bridge it. As is manifest in the official programme of the Party, they were not particularly concerned to deal with Egypt's social problems; and up to 1907, towards the end of his life, Kāmil himself, in his speeches and articles, exhibited but little interest in the lot of the fallāhin.

Mustafā Kāmil felt there was no serious social rivalry in Egypt, and that the antagonism between the Turco-Circassian and Egyptian elements had at the time become negligible. It was Kāmil's personal achievement that by little more than force of character he succeeded in bringing together Muslim and Copt leaders in Al-hizb al-waṭanī and inducing them to abandon their

329.

F.O.78/5087, Cromer's No.97, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 26, 1900, Enclosure.

rivalries and jealousies. It was an achievement which Kāmil's followers could not preserve for long after his death, and which was not to be reached again until after the First World War under the magnetic influence of Sa'd Zaghlūl.

Political union between the Muslims and Copts was not achieved easily. There was a deep-rooted anti-Christian prejudice among the Muslims, which was further exacerbated by jealousy — for the Copts held many of the important and well-paid jobs in the country. The Copts, on the other hand, regarded the Muslims as inferiors and parvenus while they alone were the true descendants and heirs of the ancient Egyptians. Mustafā Kāmil pointed out the interest both communities had in uniting, and dwelt upon the common elements in their past and present: "The Muslims and Copts are one people ("Sha'b") united by patriotism, customs, morals and "conditions of life; and it is impossible ever to "divide them³³⁰.

330.

M. Kāmil's speech in the Zīziniā Theatre at Alexandria on June 8, 1897, as reported by the Coptic paper *Al-waṭan* and quoted by al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, p. 98; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 147-148, 430; M. Kamel, "Égyptiens et anglais", pp. 165-168. See, however, J. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

The support given to his Party by so many Copts was Kāmil's most effective retort to those who accused it of being an organ of Pan-Islamic propaganda. Though not a pietist himself, Kāmil never denied the importance of religion, and his attitude to religious instruction has already been noticed in connection with the school founded in his name. Moreover, he often asserted that religion and patriotism complemented one another³³¹.

This attitude of Kāmil might have caused some apprehension to those who feared an outbreak of fanaticism in Egypt. Anyhow, it was used by his political antagonists to discredit Kāmil in the eyes of France, from whom he might have expected some support in the early years of his activity. France was still anxious about unrest, particularly religious unrest, in her acquisitions in North Africa and elsewhere. For this reason Mustafā Kāmil had to deny time and again that he was pursuing a Pan-Islamic policy.

It was more difficult for Kāmil to deny his sympathy and connections with the Porte. In the troubles

331.

E.g., his speech at the Zīziniā Theatre in Alexandria, on June 2, 1900, quoted in al-Rāfi'ī, *ibid.*, p.147; *ibid.*, p.420. Cf. Michelangelo Guidi's appreciation of Kāmil's approach to religion and nationalism, *op.cit.*, p.137.

between Christians and Muslims in Macedonia, Morocco and other places, the Egyptian Muslim could not in his heart remain impartial, and such events as the Turkish victories in Greece and the Tāba incident could not leave him unmoved. Kāmil pointed out again and again that it was only natural for Muslims to be attached to the Sultan. He himself was warmly received by the Sultan in audience in 1899 and on other occasions³³², and afterwards remained in communication with Yildiz Kiosk for some time³³³. But he repudiated energetically any implication that he desired to bring Egypt again under Turkish tutelage. He asserted that he was afraid of Great Britain persuading the Sultan to renounce his rights over Egypt in her favour, thus rendering the Egyptians even more helpless. In short, Kāmil said that he sided with Turkey only out of his hatred for Great Britain, but had nothing to do with Pan-Islamic agitation and wished to be on terms of greatest

332.

F.O.78/5024, Rodd's No.176, marked "Secret", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Sep.16, 1899. Cf. H. Boyle's Note, dated Cairo, May 25, 1900, being Enclosure in F.O.78/5087, Cromer's No. 97, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 26, 1900. X, "Les courants politiques dans le milieu arabe", in R.M.M., vol. XXV, Dec. 1913, p. 255.

333.

Note on Al-liwā' in Al-hiḥl, vol. VIII, Jan. 15, 1900, p. 253. Article on "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", ibid., vol. XVI, Mar. 1, 1908, p. 330

friendship with foreigners residing in Egypt³³⁴.

However, Kāmil's statement that he had nothing to do with Pan-Islamic agitation is belied not only by his dealings with the Palace circle of Constantinople³³⁵, but also by his connection with certain semi-secret Pan-Islamic societies in Egypt³³⁶. One of these, "Shams al-islām", (The sun of Islam) was actually directed from Constantinople, and operated in Egypt under the leadership of a certain 'Alī Bey al-Mu'ayyad, maintaining a close secrecy about its enrolment and proceedings. Internal dissensions, however, soon reduced it to ineffectiveness.

334.

M. Kamel, "Egyptian-French letters", pp.44, 228; id., "Egyptiens et anglais", pp.179-183, 245-247. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", pp.96, 341-346. 'Atṭāra, op.cit., p.466. Hasenclever, op.cit., p.148. Alexander, op.cit., p.32. W.S. Blunt, "The new Egyptian nationalism", *The Independent Review*, vol. XI, Oct, 1906, pp.32-33. O'Leary, "Islam at the cross roads", pp.146-147. Galal, op.cit., p.143. E.Klingmüller, "Geschichte der Wafd-Partei im Rahmen der gesamt-politischen Lage Aegyptens", p.13. W. Braune, "Die Entwicklung des Nationalismus bei den Arabern", *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft* (1944), pp.432 ss.

335.

See the three preceding footnotes.

336.

Cf., F.O.78/5024, Rodd's No.176, marked "Secret", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Sep.16, 1899.

More important was another society of Pan-Islamic aims, called "Makārim al-akhlāq" (Graces of morals). Reputed to have a membership of thousands, and branches in the most important towns of Egypt, it also included many people of prominence in religion and other walks of life. Its meetings were relatively quiet and orderly. From the lectures and debates at these meetings, it was to be concluded that the aims of this society were to uplift Islam and preserve its rites and laws intact by creating a united front against all Christians 337.

The policy of the Hizb was further orientated towards Turkey with the growing despair of any support from the French. Until this time it showed the influence of France both in its ideas and its phraseology, and French was the second language of the country. However, after the discomfiture of France in the Fashoda Incident, the Egyptian Press gradually ceased to extol France and exhorted the Egyptians to rely only on their own powers; 337.

Ibid., Rodd's No. 163, marked "Secret", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, Aug. 25, 1899. F.O. 78/5087, Cromer's No. 97, marked "Confidential", to Salisbury, dated Cairo, May 26, 1900, Enclosure. F.O. 141/357, No. 43, O'Connor's despatch, marked "Secret", to Cromer, dated Constantinople, Feb. 12, 1900, and Enclosure, being copy of Block's memorandum.

this was particularly evident in the Nationalist press after the Entente of 1904. Immediately after the signing of the Entente, Muṣṭafa Kāmil addressed a public meeting in Alexandria and encouraged his listeners to the spread of education, unity, and moral elevation of the Press³³⁸. It is possible that it was at this time that he strengthened his relations with German agents in Egypt³³⁹, but of this there is no decisive proof³⁴⁰. These repeated disappointments led to that self-reliance which was ultimately to bring about the formation of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī and other political Parties.

338.

French translation of his Arabic speech, delivered on June 8, 1904 — M.Kamel, "Égyptiens et anglais", pp.323-324.

339.

R.Storrs, "Orientations" (1945 ed.), p.121. Galal, op.cit., p.158. For the sympathetic attitude of the newspaper of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī towards Germany in the years preceding World War I, cf. H. Delbrück, op.cit., in Preussische Jahrbücher, vol. CXLVI, 1911, p.303.

340.

On the general phase of Kāmil's hopes in France, see Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, op.cit., pp.155-156. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Muṣṭafā Kāmil", pp.174-175. H. Kohn, "Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient", pp. 153-154.

Mustafā Kāmil's demands for a constitution and representative institutions date from 1900. On October 5 of that year he published an article named "The government and the umma in Egypt" ("Al-hukūma wa'l-umma fī Miṣr"), in which he called on the British in strong terms to fulfil what he called "Lord Dufferin's promises of Constitutional Government in Egypt". He was to reiterate this demand often, in the years following, insisting that only by granting constitutional representative institutions could the British hope to live on good terms with the Egyptians; and only by the Dustūr could the Egyptians hope to be happy and prosperous. The gist of these demands, which do not show anything original, is embedded in the second paragraph of the programme of Al-hizb al-waṭanī³⁴¹. This agitation for constitutional reforms shows that the constitutional experiments in Russia and other countries of the Balkans, in Persia and Turkey, though for the greater part unsuccessful, had left their imprint on the Egyptian politicians. The fact that constitutional experiments had failed in other countries of the Near East does not seem to have been taken into consideration.

As has already been mentioned, Kāmil and his followers used all available means of propaganda to further their cause: speeches, interviews with politicians

³⁴¹. See App. 9. Cf. Kāmil's articles and speeches quoted in al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", pp. 166-167, 226; M. Kamel, "Égyptiens et anglais", pp. 277-278.

and journalists, publication of books and newspapers in Arabic, English and French. Kāmil's speeches, moderate at first but gradually growing in virulence, often showed literary skill and resourcefulness in argument. He sought to convince the Egyptians and others that the British Occupation was not only tyrannical but also inefficient in all the departments of administration. To prove this, and establish as a consequence that only the Egyptians could be capable of managing their own affairs well, he did not scruple to falsify the facts, e.g., his allegations against British inefficiency in the department of irrigation.

Like many other politicians, he resorted to generalisation in invective, as in his first public speech in France, at Toulouse, on July 4, 1895: "D'après tout que "je viens de dire, vous comprenez bien, Messieurs, que "l'occupation de l'Egypte par l'Angleterre est nefaste à "tous les points de vue. Elle est contraire à tous les "traités, à toutes les règles de la justice, et elle a, "de plus, empêché le peuple de continuer à marcher dans "la voie du progrès et de la civilisation"³⁴².

342.

M. Kamel, "Égyptiens et anglais", p.36; for other examples cf. *ibid.*, pp.47-79, 213.

Kāmil enjoyed an unquestioned influence among the students in Egypt, who literally adored him; he encouraged them to work for the kind of educational system he was advocating even if it meant disobeying their parents and teachers. It was Kāmil and his group who were behind the great strike of the Law School students in 1906, comprising all the students of a higher school and directed against the educational policy of the Occupation. This was the first practical contact between the students and the organised national movement, and it gave the Egyptians their first taste of a large-scale strike³⁴³.

While it is true that Kāmil's death did not cause any immediate serious disruption in the movement which he had formed (a tribute to his organising ability), those members who had been attracted to it by his electric personality were soon to notice the absence. However, in 1908, Al-hizb al-waṭanī showed much energy in its activities, and this was due in part to the preparations Kāmil had made before his death, and in greater part to the spur of competition with the other recently formed parties.

343. See also al-Rāfi'ī, "Mustafā Kāmil", pp.195-197, 408-409; Alexander, op.cit., pp.30 ss.; J.Adam, op.cit., p.148; Lloyd, "Egypt since Cromer", vol.I, p.41; H. Bowman, "Middle-East window", pp.40-41; P.G.Elgood, "The Transit of Egypt", pp.146-148.

Muhammad Farīd, a lawyer who had been Kāmil's most trusted friend and adviser, was elected President of Al-hizb al-watani. He delivered his first long political oration in Cairo soon after the first anniversary of Cromer's resignation. He began by advising his listeners never to resort to force; demanded the abolition of the Capitulations; attacked the "Hizb al-iṣlāh 'alā' al-mabādi' al-dustūriya" (commonly called the Constitutional Reformers) and its leader, 'Alī Yūsuf, accusing them of fomenting discord. He then announced that his Party intended to fight for a Parliament, and to ask it from the Khedive, not from Great Britain: better to do without a Parliament than receive it from the British (a sly shaft at the other Egyptian parties). He accused the Ministers of receiving great salaries and doing little work, executing only the commands of the Advisers. He hoped that by a united front the Egyptians would gain their Constitution and Parliament, effective control over their government and the removal of British authority.

Farīd, following the example of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, visited England at the end of 1908, delivered some speeches

and published his revised (that is, "revised" for the British public) programme in the "Manchester Guardian". There should be a complete evacuation of the country and the grant of a constitution at least as liberal as that of 1881. Egypt would honour all International Treaties, the Mixed Courts, Capitulations, the Public Debt and the Tribute to the Porte. The British Parliament was urged to put an end to arbitrary rule, and Egypt, for her part, would respect the privileges of European residents. Education was to be encouraged and advanced. All this was obviously on the same lines as Kāmil's programme of 1907.

As promised by Farīd in his first long public oration, in 1908 Al-hizb al-waṭanī submitted a petition to the Khedive, with a large number of signatures, requesting the revival of the Parliament "abrogated" by the Occupation. The Party succeeded in gaining to its cause the Legislative Council, almost the only semi-parliamentary institution in Egypt: this body, in verifying the budget for 1910, denounced the British financial administration.

It was the propaganda of the Party which, about this time, caused the failure of the project of the Company of the Suez Canal, which sought an extension of

the concession until 1998. Some days before the matter was brought up for debate in the General Assembly, Al-hizb al-waṭanī called a large meeting in which 'Alī Kāmil (Mustafā Kāmil's brother) pointed out the dangers which such a concession held for Egypt. This meeting influenced the view of the General Assembly when it rejected the plan³⁴⁴.

These activities in general reflected the ambitions of Kāmil's programme, the only difference being a more earnest demand for constitutional reforms; this, no doubt, was a reaction to the events in Turkey³⁴⁵ and Persia in 1908-1909³⁴⁶.

True to Kāmil's policy, Al-hizb al-waṭanī was founding committees in the towns and the larger villages, and through their help many evening-classes were being founded. Still it was undeniable that the extremists of the Party were gaining ground. As has been so often the case in the Near East, it was the extremist element, with its unrestrained speeches and sweeping demands, that

344.

Alexander, op.cit., pp.148-150, 161-162; J.Adam, op.cit., pp.198 ss.

345. For alleged connections between Al-hizb al-waṭanī and the Young Turks see X, "Les courants politiques dans le milieu arabe", in R.M.M., vol.XXV, Dec.1913, pp.265-266, 271.

346. For a contradictory, but prejudiced, opinion, cf. H.H. Fyfe, "The new spirit in Egypt", pp.146-150.

received the most popular support. Under the leadership of Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz Shāwīsh, the more aggressive elements of Al-hizb al-waṭanī gradually got the upper hand in Al-liwā' and other Arabic newspapers influenced by the Party, like the Cairene daily "Al-'alām" in 1910³⁴⁷, and indulged in unbridled abuse of the British.

When there was no ready material for attacking the Occupation, these newspapers directed their virulence against the Copts and Christian Syrians. In consequence they were indirectly responsible for the assassination of Butrus Ghālī Pasha and for the rift between the Muslims and the Copts in the Party after that murder. The leaders of Al-hizb al-waṭanī apparently recognised their mistaken policy, and, in 1911, firmly declined to have anything to do either with the Copt or Muslim congresses being held in Asyūt and Cairo respectively³⁴⁸. But the political union of Muslim and Copt leaders, which had been one of Mustafā Kāmil's main achievements, was torn asunder.

347.

Al-hilāl, vol. XVIII, Apr. 1, 1910, pp. 447-448.

348.

A. Cunningham, "To-day in Egypt", pp. 234-250. Hasenclever, op.cit., pp. 467-469. Adam, op.cit., p. 213. P.G. Elgood, op.cit., pp. 194-195. See also article on "Al-ḥaraka al-siyāsīya fī Miṣr al-mu'tamar al-qibtī wa'l-mu'tamar al-miṣrī", in Al-hilāl, vol. XIX, May 1, 1911, pp. 506-508.

The same spirit of bitter anti-British agitation pervaded the yearly congresses of Al-hizb al-waṭanī, which were usually arranged in European capitals by Egyptian students abroad. For all their pomp and ceremony, these Congresses did not carry much weight.

The first congress of Al-hizb al-waṭanī abroad was held at Geneva in 1908, on a small scale. The second was held in the same place, on September 13-15, 1909 -- it was significant that it was arranged so as to begin on the anniversary of the battle of Tell-el-kabīr. The students who prepared the Congress gave it a great deal of publicity and invited members of other Egyptian political parties³⁴⁹, English M.P.'s, Irish leaders, French Deputies, and representatives of the Press. Besides subjects like the awakening of the East and a comparison between the Egyptian and Irish Questions, the various problems were to be dealt with by committees:

349.

E. Montet, "Le deuxième congrès de la 'Jeunesse égyptienne'", in R.M.M., vol. IX, No.9, Sept.1909, p.150.

- "1. A practical method of popularising Nationalist ideas among the people.
- "2. The most useful methods for spreading constitutional and political education.
- "3. The most practical methods for establishing free and public schools, independent of the Anglo-Egyptian Government.
- "4. The most effective measures to be taken for the abrogation of the decree recently issued against the liberty of the Press and the Tribune.
- "5. The best measures to be taken against the new law concerning persons under police supervision."³⁵⁰.

The debates were well organized and quite moderate in matter and tone³⁵¹; but the real spirit of the congress was to be found in the resolutions³⁵².

³⁵⁰. Alexander, op.cit., p.274.

³⁵¹. Cf. Montet, op.cit., pp.150 ss; G., "Le deuxième congrès de la Jeunesse égyptienne", in R.M.M., vol. X, No.1, Jan.1910, pp.133-134.

³⁵². See App.10. Text in G. Samné & Y.M.Goblet, "La vie politique orientale en 1909", App. VI, pp.310-312. Cf. J. Alexander, op.cit., p.276.

The first of these was the usual one demanding complete evacuation, with some significant additions about representative institutions, which reflect the spirit of the age. The second was concerned with the bitter quarrels and bickering of the different Egyptian political parties and with education, the favourite subject of Al-hizb al-waṭanī. The third resolution suggested means for journalistic propaganda, while the fifth protested against the Press Law. In short: evacuation, representative institutions, free journalistic propaganda.

The next congress was held at Brussels on September 21-24, 1910. A deputation of twenty-two Egyptian members left Alexandria on a ship especially hired by Al-hizb al-waṭanī; large demonstrations took place in Cairo and Alexandria. Muḥammad Farīd and the Party's members in Europe invited many liberal politicians, journalists and authors to this congress. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, the English champion of 'Urābī's cause, sent it a long letter of sympathy³⁵³.

The subjects to be debated were, mainly, four:

353.

"Lettre adressée au congrès national égyptien à Paris" (1910; 12 pp.)

1. General politics in Egypt and the Sudan.
2. Administrative and agricultural problems.
3. Financial problems, to show the world Egypt's correct financial situation.
4. Education. 354

One of the interesting papers read at this congress was that by Hāmid al-'Alā'illī, who was its secretary³⁵⁵. It was characteristic of the general mentality, and, despite much that was superficial and banal, contained some sensible remarks. Addressed in particular to his fellow-countrymen, it described the moral and intellectual resources of Egyptian nationalism, namely: the patriotic pride in the antiquity of Egyptian history; the intellectual level of Arab civilisation; the moral power of Islam (simplicity, etc.); the acquisition of modern European culture by the leading classes. Then it described what its author

354.

See App.11 for a summarised table of contents of the lectures given at the Brussels Congress. Text in the book entitled "Oeuvres du congrès national égyptien tenu à Bruxelles le 22, 23, 24, septembre, 1910".

355.

"The future of Egypt, the moral and intellectual aspects of Egyptian nationalism. Paper read at the Egyptian national congress held at Brussels on September 21, - 24, 1910 by Hamed el Alaily, secretary to the congress". (Paris, 1910; 37 pp.).

considered the terrible physical, moral and national deterioration under continuing British rule, contrasted with the peace, plenty and development possible in a free Egypt³⁵⁶.

The evidence of such congresses and of its extremist journalistic activity shows clearly that Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī was still the best organised of the Egyptian political parties³⁵⁷, for all that its closest rival, Ḥizb al-umma, enjoyed the support of the British; and the next closest, Ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ, that of the Khedive.

It is not easy to point out the reasons for the gradual but continuous decline of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī during the years 1908 - 1914. The split between Muslims and Copts must have been a serious shock; the extremist invective in its Press alarmed many well-to-do Egyptians who had sympathised with the Party beforehand; while its growing sympathies with the Porte, with whom Farīd and Shāwīsh were in close contact, caused anxiety to the Khedive and to many Egyptians and Europeans living in

356.

See, besides Ḥāmid al-‘Alā’ilī's paper, Alexander, op.cit., pp.369-372. Cunningham, op.cit., pp.236-238. Adām, op.cit., pp.199, 202 ss.

357.

Cf. also the testimony of Amine Youssef "Independent Egypt", p.14.

Egypt. Another serious drawback was the absence of a competent leader after Kāmil's death, particularly after Muḥammad Farīd had gone into voluntary exile in 1911.

It is this last factor which was perhaps the decisive one: more than once had the presence or absence of able leaders decided the success or failure of political movements since the eighties.

There is very little information about Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī during the First World War, though with the outbreak of hostilities it would seem to have intensified its anti-British propaganda ³⁵⁸. But martial law having been proclaimed in Egypt, all political activity was suspended, and this undoubtedly would affect the strength of any party in a country in which being inactive and silent was almost equivalent to being forgotten.

Nevertheless it seems to have continued its activities in Europe, probably with the hope that the Central Powers would win the war ³⁵⁹. While this is rather

358.

Cf. A. Giannini, "La questione orientale alla conferenza della pace", in *Oriente Moderno*, vol. I, 1921-1922, p. 324.

359. Cf. al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol. I, p. 69; vol. II, pp. 43 ss.

difficult to prove, the available material makes it a highly justifiable inference.

The sympathy of Muḥammad Farīd, Shāwīsh, and other notable leaders of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī lay with the Porte³⁶⁰. They could not possibly side with Great Britain; for after conducting such violent propaganda against it, they themselves almost began to believe their accusations. During the war Farīd went to Berlin³⁶¹ and died there in 1919³⁶². Egyptian students in the Allied countries returned to Egypt at the outbreak of war, while those in Berlin remained, either by compulsion or (more probably) by inclination. Some openly embraced the cause of the Central Powers, which went to great pains to influence leading Orientals³⁶³, Germany in particular concentrating its propaganda on Egypt³⁶⁴. As

360.

For the attitude of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī to the Porte, before war broke out, see also von Wangenheim's No.106, to von Bethmann Hollweg, dated Pera, Apr.12,1913, reprinted in J. Lepsius and others, "Die grosse Politik, etc." vol.XXXVIII, p.25. Graves, "Briton and Turk", p.147, alleges that Farīd represented the Grand Orient of Turkey in Egypt in 1910.

361. For Farīd's earlier connections with Germany cf. "Die Grosse Politik", *ibid.*

362. Obituary in Al-hilāl, vol.XXVIII, Dec.1, 1919, pp.264-266; cf. *ibid.*, vol.XXIX, Jan.1, 1921, p.408.

363. André Servier, "Le péril de l'avenir le nationalisme musulman en Egypte, en Tunisie, en Algérie", 3rd ed., p.18.

364. See, e.g., Erich Meyer, "Deutsche Arbeit und deutsche Kriegserlebnisse in Ägypten" (Berlin, 1916). Also Ms. Or. 1037 in the Cambridge University Library, being the text of a document for signing treaties with native leaders acknowledging a German protectorate.

early as January 8, 1915, those Egyptians who were staying in Berlin were already organised in a Jungegyptische Nationalkomitee, which recorded a protest against the deposition of 'Abbās Hilmi³⁶⁵.

Further corroboration of our hypothesis of Egyptian connections with Germany is to be found in the testimony of an Egyptian who called himself Ibn Tulun. Towards the end of the War, he wrote to the editor of "Der neue Orient", that, during the war, there existed in Switzerland a society of Egyptians who considered themselves persecuted and aspired to overthrow British control in Egypt. The members of this society were in communication with Germany and prepared plans for both secret and open war with Great Britain. A split occurred, however, : those members who did not want to tie their political career to Germany left the society and created another one, so that there were then two Egyptian nationalist societies in Switzerland, one of which was oriented towards Germany³⁶⁶.

365.

E.H., note on "Die Jungägypter in Berlin", in Die Welt des Islams, vol.III, No.1, p.63.

366. Der neue Orient, 1918, part II, pp.218-219. The editor recommends Ibn Tulun as no less than "Ein führendes Mitglied der ägyptischen Nationalpartei" (ibid., p.218).

Egyptians who lived in Europe during the War kept up a strenuous propaganda. Mohamed Fahmy, President of the Comité permanent de la jeunesse égyptienne en Europe — the moving spirit of which was Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī — published in 1913 his "La vérité sur la question d'Egypte mémoire présenté au XIX^e congrès de la paix universelle Genève, 22-28 septembre, 1912". This book was reprinted with some amplifications in 1917 under the title of "La question d'Egypte".

The booklet showed little originality, dwelling mainly on the political, economic and juridical history of Egypt from the times of Muḥammad 'Alī, together with a reiteration of the unkept promises of Great Britain. But it is interesting as a further sign of the unabated activity of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī in Europe. Also of interest is another paper of Fahmī's, named "Khiṭāb maftūḥ ilā' l-mister Asquith ra'īs wizārat Inḡlitrā", dated Genève, Sep. 14, 1915. The author respectfully reminds Great Britain of her promises, hints at some secret British intrigues for dethroning 'Abbās II Ḥilmī, and so forth.

In Stockholm, moreover, another branch of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī published a bulletin during the war, in which they explained over and again the situation in the Near East

in general and in Egypt in particular³⁶⁷.

After the end of the war, Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī again came into the open with a programme demanding complete independence for Egypt and the Sudan. It differed from the Wafd only in one main issue, its rejection of any negotiations with Great Britain until the latter had recognised the complete independence of Egypt. The Wafd, on the other hand, was quite ready for immediate negotiations.

On March 10, 1919, the "Comité directeur du parti national égyptien" published in Berne an "Appel au monde civilisé". In the three pages of this manifesto, its authors charged "the agents of expansionist Great Britain" with tyranny, atrocities, and a policy of extermination. The Committee charged that the British authorities, under false pretence of keeping order, had hanged and looted throughout Egypt. During the 37 years of the British Occupation (viz., 1882-1919), the National Movement in Egypt had been distinguished by its lack of animosity to foreigners. The atrocities in Egypt would create an

367. See

~~For an analysis of the "Bulletin du parti national égyptien", Stockholm, Nov. 1917, see App.~~

abyss between the Egyptians and the British. Liberals in all countries, particularly in Great Britain, were called upon to stop such atrocities and to assist the Egyptians in gaining their independence.

In 1919 and 1920 Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī also published strong protests against the Milner Commission³⁶⁸, as well as against the Milner-Zaghlūl agreement³⁶⁹. In general, Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī strove to keep Egyptian public opinion active against Great Britain; for example, it protested against the congratulations tendered by Lord Allenby in the name of H.M.'s Government to Prince Fu'ād on the birth of Fārūq, and his implicit recognition of the latter as the heir presumptive to the throne of Egypt³⁷⁰.

368.

See, for instance, al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919," vol.II, pp.77-78, 96-97.

369.

Adam, op.cit., pp.234-241; P.G.Elgood, op.cit., pp.256-257. On the general boycott of the Egyptians on the Milner Commission while it was in Egypt, see Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥauliyāt Miṣr al-siyāsīya", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.580 ss. For the memorandum which Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī presented to the Peace Conference in April, 1919, cf. al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol.I, pp.94-103.

370.

Adam, ibid., pp.222-223, 237-238. Text in al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol.II, p.104; cf. ibid., p.105, for the Wafd's protest.

The Party maintained its intransigent attitude towards negotiations with Great Britain. When 'Adlī Yegen was negotiating in London with the British Government in 1921, the Berlin branch of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī published its objections to the negotiations with the British before they recognised the complete independence of Egypt. The Ḥizb summarised its demands under 5 heads:

1. Complete independence for Egypt.
2. Inseparability of Egypt and the Sudan.
3. No obligations for Egypt to give military help to Great Britain in the future.
4. No treaty which would tie the economic interests of Egypt with those of the British Commonwealth.
5. No treaty which might help Great Britain in its colonial designs.³⁷¹.

As would be expected, Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī also opposed the unilateral Declaration of Independence of February 1922, because of its reservations³⁷². It

371.

Liwā' al-islām, Sep. 1 & 15, 1921, summarised by 'N.' = Carlo Alfonso Nallino, in Oriente Moderno, vol. I, 1921-1922, pp. 300-301. These extremist demands were somewhat softened when they were presented to the Conference of Geneva in Apr. 1922, — cf. Aly F. Kamel, "La question d'Egypte" in Orient and Occident, No. 5, May 1922, pp. 5-20, esp. p. 20, § 3^e.

372. Cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ramaḍān's fiery speech at a banquet offered by Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī to French journalists on 10 April 1922, as reported by Ahmad Shafiʿ, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol. I, pp. 159ss., and esp. 165ss. See also Wavell, op. cit., p. 83, about the materials for this opposition.

communicated to the Press the strong objections of its Executive Committee to any of the members of the Hizb taking part in the work of the appointed Commission for drafting the Egyptian Constitution³⁷³. As Toynbee points out very aptly, "for the first time in many years, "Egyptians found themselves divided politically on a "purely internal question in which the relations of Egypt "with the Occupying Power were not involved"³⁷⁴. It may be stated in addition that this was one of the turning points which changed the national movement in Egypt from mere agitation to a truly political movement.

373.

Aḥmad Shafīq, *ibid.*, pp.149 ss. Al-akhbār, Apr.5, 1922, quoted by V.V. [Virginia Vacca de Bosis] in *Oriente Moderno*, vol.I, 1921-1922, p.764.

374.

A.J. Toynbee, "The Islamic world since the peace settlement" (*Survey of international affairs*, 1925, vol.I), p.199.

The programme published in Al-liwā', at the time the delegates of Al-hizb al-waṭanī left for Lausanne shows how little the aims of the party had changed since 1921, and in fact since 1907³⁷⁵. Of its eight paragraphs the first five were the familiar demands for complete independence of Egypt and the Sudan, the evacuation of all British troops, and the refusal to negotiate with the British or accord them any preferential treatment in the Nile Valley. The sixth paragraph possibly reflects the connection of Al-hizb al-waṭanī with the ex-Khedive 'Abbās II³⁷⁶ who had cast his lot with Turkey and Germany at the beginning of the war. The paragraph also shows the Islamic bias of this party, and its sympathetic attitude towards Turkey; this was to be further demonstrated at the end of the war by the numerous telegrams of encouragement and congratulations sent to Mustafa Kemal. The

375.

See App.12. Text in Oriente Moderno, vol.II, 1922-1923, p.433. Cf. the telegram sent by Al-hizb al-waṭanī to the Egyptian Press, quoted by Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.III, p.309.

376.

It should be remembered that the appointment of Fu'ād had been under martial law and, according to this paragraph, invalid.

seventh paragraph was designed to soothe the fears of the financial world and of the foreign military experts, but it betrayed no abatement of the Party's intransigence for it stressed that the Canal must remain under the custody of Egypt³⁷⁷.

Notwithstanding this attitude of intransigence, the delegation of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī to the Peace Conference at Lausanne moderated its claims, so that it could take united stand with the Wafd³⁷⁸. Before the parliamentary elections it chose a new energetic President — Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ramaḍān — to replace the deceased Muḥammad Farīd³⁷⁹. During the elections, both the Executive Board (now reduced to a membership of twenty-five) and the Executive

377.

See also V.V. [Virginia Vacca] in Oriente Moderno, vol.II, 1922-1923, p.433.

378.

For further details see below, in the chapter on the Wafd.

379.

Al-ahrām, May 10, 1923, quoted by E.R. [Ettore Rossi], in Oriente Moderno, vol.III, 1923, p.121.

Committee did much useful work and showed organisation of a high order.³⁸⁰

Yet because so much of its policy had been framed merely to out-bid the Wafd, it failed to get more than a few of its candidates elected and even many of its prominent leaders were defeated. The Party's role in the Egyptian Parliament of 1924 was confined to bitter criticism of the foreign policy of Sa'd Zaghlūl's Government and of what they described as its inactivity in the Sudan problem³⁸¹. Henceforward the decline of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī became more and more pronounced, until gradually it was reduced to scarcely more than a cypher in Egyptian politics³⁸².

380.

Aḥmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", Al-ḥaulīya al-ūlā, vol.I, pp.9 ss. M.M. Moreno, "La situazione interna dell'Egitto dall'uccisione del Sirdar ad oggi", in Oriente Moderno, vol. V, 1925, p.226. For the electoral battle of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī with the other parties, and their programmes, see *ibid.*, vol.III, 1923, *passim*, esp. pp.247-248, 313; W. Hayter, "Recent constitutional developments in Egypt", pp.44-45; Foulad Yeghen, "Sa ad Zaghloul, le 'père du peuple' égyptien", pp.78-81, esp.80; H.Kohn, "Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient", pp.85-86.

381.

Aḥmad Shafīq, *ibid.*, *passim*. Oriente Moderno, vol.IV, 1924, *passim*. E.Klingmüller, *op.cit.*, pp.68-71. Cf. on the general characteristics of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī in 1923-1924, P.Arminjon, "L'expérience constitutionnelle et parlementaire de l'Égypte", Revue de Paris, June 1, 1929, pp.579-580.

382. Cf. however Centre d'études de politique étrangère, "L'Égypte indépendante", p.30.

The problem which arises from all this is how it came about that a Party which, even from our scanty knowledge of it, seems to have been better organized than any other party (with a central committee, branches, a good system of propaganda, etc., failed so miserably in everything it undertook after the First World War.

It is impossible to attribute the failure to any single reason. The decline began after the serious split between Muslims and Copts and continued throughout the period leading to 1918. There was then no great ideological cleavage between the policy of the Wafd and that of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī. But there were some distinguishing points which might explain the success of the Wafd and the failure of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī:

1. The Egyptians seem to have understood that the important demand of "no negotiations with Great Britain" was unreasonable on the part of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, since Great Britain was so much stronger than Egypt.
2. The Wafd addressed itself to the mass of the people, the fallahin, which had by then acquired a certain degree of national consciousness; it had its committees in every small village of Egypt. Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, on the other hand, still relied chiefly on the intelligentsia and its main activities were in Cairo and Alexandria.

3. Most important of all was the fact that the Wafd had Zaghlūl, while Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī had no really competent political leader since Muṣṭafā Kāmil's death. In the Near East the men of ability have often decided the course of history, and modern Egypt was no exception, as the history of the Wafd after Zaghlūl's death goes to prove. Sa'ḍ Zaghlūl inserted the more reasonable clauses of the programme of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī into his own programme, and it was the Wafd which led Egypt in its political path for a number of years.

While the national movement in Egypt during 'Urābī's days was essentially religious and emotional, and intended to arouse the oppressed fallahin to action, the movement led by Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, though in certain respects a revival of the former, appealed to the brain and was headed by a small Europeanised intellectual bourgeoisie. The dream of a reformed Islam gave place to a well-organised demand for political freedom and self-government. This was not merely a change from Islamic agitation to political xenophobia, but to party organisation and propaganda, in the manner of Europe, with the political element dominant.

Religion, all-powerful in 'Urābī's days, gave place in a large degree to the political element in the organisation and progress of the national movement in Egypt until 1918. Then, influenced by the political, economic and social commotions of the Great War, religious differences were almost wholly set aside in a popular political movement for the independence of Egypt.

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CH. V. MINOR PARTIES IN THE
EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Anti-British propaganda was intensified in the first years of the twentieth century. Anglophobes, mistrusting all Great Britain's designs towards Egypt, pointed continuously towards the unfulfilled pledges of the Occupying Power and its failure in various fields. Religious conviction, economic reasons and ambition combined to supply material to the educated Egyptian for anti-British invective³⁸³.

In 1905, an educated Egyptian wrote a book entitled "Letters from an Egyptian to an English politician upon the affairs of Egypt". It is possible that the "English politician" in mind was John M. Robertson, M.P., who wrote its introduction³⁸⁴.

The author, who claims to speak for no party but only in the name of the Egyptian people, voiced complaints — common ones among the Egyptians at that

383.

A.Milner, op.cit., App.I, "Egypt in 1894", pp.370-371. Lloyd, op.cit., vol.I, pp.38-40. W.S.Blunt, "The new Egyptian nationalism", in the Independent Review, vol.XI, Oct.1906, pp.30-31. Fyfe, op.cit., pp.146-150.

384.

For Robertson's sympathy to Egypt cf. Al-muqtabas, vol.I, No.12, Dhū'l-hijja 1, 1324 (appr.Jan.1907) pp.664-665.

time — against the British in Egypt. Though generally admitting that the British had contributed towards the material prosperity of Egypt (meanwhile enriching themselves, too, by turning that prosperity to their own account), he enumerated the grievances of his people.

He mostly complained of the following:

1. The administration of justice in the Native Courts.

The Ministry of Justice, entirely controlled by the British, was weak and defective; there were too many British in the Native Courts, most of them young and lacking in knowledge of native institutions, and ignorant of Arabic.

2. Legislation. The Englishmen engaged in legislation for Egypt were just lawyers and had had no similar practice in their own country.

3. Tourists. These were given only a one-sided view of the British administration of Egypt.

4. Infant mortality. The British had not devoted enough care to housing problems and the improvement of social conditions in the towns and villages of Egypt; child mortality had grown, instead of decreasing³⁸⁵.

385.

The author did not consider the fact that the birth-rate had also increased visibly.

5. Finance. Expenditure was still too great and not directed to the proper channels (examples were cited).
6. Urban reform. This was put off and neglected, mainly among the working classes; diseases were rampant; fire precautions were inadequate.
7. Poor relief. This was not suitably organised.
8. Official appointments. These were not made judiciously; there were too many sinecures; salaries were not suitable, particularly for the lower grade officials, who got £E.3.-.-. to £E.4.-.-. a month.
9. Agriculture. The agricultural department should be enlarged.
10. Education. This prepared people only to be clerks, and was still, in many subjects, given in English.

1. Hizb al-umma.

As a result of these grievances and others, of the occidental culture which Egyptian youths had acquired in Europe, of the growing material welfare of the population, and of the hostile attitude of Islam towards domination by the unbeliever, other parties grew in Egypt alongside of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī.

One of the foremost among these was "Hizb al-umma", the "Party of the Umma"³⁸⁶. Unlike Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, which was organised on the lines of European political parties, the other parties in Egypt were groups loosely connected to a certain personage. They numbered few adherents and their ideas had little effect outside the party's closed circle; that was

386.

Cunningham, op.cit., ch.11. C.S.Cooper, "The man of Egypt", pp.73-78. W.S.Blunt, "The new situation in Egypt"—a reprint from the Manchester Guardian, Sep.1908, pp.4-5. "Egypt, a monthly record of Egyptian and Near Eastern news", vol.I, No.5, July 1911, pp.44-45, and passim. Alexander, op.cit., pp.114-115. P.Antomarchi, "Notes de route le nationalisme égyptien", pp.9-10; cf. ibid., pp.13 ss. 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, op.cit., pp.152-153. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., pp.142-143. H.Kohn, "Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient" p156. A.Giannini, "La questione orientale alla conferenza della pace", in Oriente Moderno, I, 1921-1922, p.324.

one of the reasons why these parties never issued lists of candidates for the elections to the various semi-parliamentary institutions in Egypt³⁸⁷.

This observation applies to Hizb al-umma, too. It was formed in September-October, 1907, with the unofficial encouragement of Lord Cromer³⁸⁸ and British circles in Egypt. Lord Cromer knew how to use the apprehensions of a number of well-to-do Egyptians, who were not too pleased at the violent propaganda of Al-hizb al-waṭanī and who were also opposed to the expansion of Turkish influence in Egypt. These rich, aristocratic people sympathised with some of the demands of Al-hizb al-waṭanī, but favoured greater prudence and patience. They organised a new party around the newspaper Al-jarīda,

387.

Alexander, op.cit., p.115. Al-‘Aqqād, op.cit., p.153.

388.

Cromer had left Egypt in May, 1907 — cf. Lloyd, op.cit., vol.I, p.52 — but the creation of this party was an obvious result of his efforts.

receiving the encouragement of Lord Cromer through the agency of the Prime Minister, Muṣṭafā Fahmī Pasha. Under the name of Hizb al-umma, this party was first led by Hasan 'Abd al-Rāziq Pasha, and then, when he died soon after, by Maḥmūd Sulaimān Pasha³⁸⁹.

Besides some members in the Legislative Council and General Assembly, and a few high officials, Hizb al-umma had other adherents such as Sa'd Zaghlūl, Fathī Zaghlūl, President of a Court, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd, the editor of Al-jarīda, and other people of standing. However, as Sir Eldon Gorst, Cromer's successor as British Consul-General in Egypt, did not continue to support the party, a change in its policy occurred. While hitherto it had demanded gradual improvements and reforms, it now reversed its attitude, and openly demanded full independence for Egypt in its organ, Al-jarīda. It was then that the party was

389.

Alexander, op.cit., p.129. Muhammad Husain Haikal, "Tarājim miṣrīya wa-gharbīya", pp.200-201. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., p.140. Magd El Din Nassif, op.cit., p.22. Lloyd, op.cit., vol.I, p.50. M.T.Symons, "The riddle of Egypt", p.172. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", p.145. W.S.Blunt, "Lettre adressée au congrès national égyptien à Paris", p.5. Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", pp.192-193. Galal, op.cit., pp.138, 152.

enfeebled by secessions, some of its extremist adherents joining Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, while the more moderate ^{390.} gravitated towards Ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ 'alā'l-mabādi' al-dustūrīya.

Ḥizb al-umma had been founded and spent its existence around a newspaper, "Al-jarīda", edited by the brilliant Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd, who was to be, in after days, a Rector of the University and a member of the Muḥammad Maḥmūd Cabinet in 1938³⁹¹. Al-jarīda, founded on March 9, 1907³⁹², was open to many young Muslim writers and, under Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd's guidance, a circle of authors and journalists was formed, who demanded wider education and other reforms. Notwithstanding the high cost of production, the journal sold well and left its

390.

Lloyd, op.cit., vol.I, p.50. Alexander, op.cit., pp.129, 137-139, 248. Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", pp.175-176. P.G. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", p.145. Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", p.193.

391.

For a biographical notice on Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd see Zakī Fahmī, op.cit., pp.386-390.

392.

Al-muqtabas, vol.II, No.3, Apr.1907, pp.176-177.

mark, though it never reached a circulation as wide as the papers of Al-hizb al-waṭanī, which offered their readers more sensational news³⁹³.

The programme of Hizb al-umma was often proclaimed in Al-jarīda, from 1907, and showed the influence of the teachings of Muḥammad 'Abduh. The efforts, funds and advice of the party were to be devoted towards reforming education and the representative system in Egypt. Hizb al-umma aimed at making education free, general and obligatory, with special encouragement for higher education. On the other hand they demanded wider powers for the Provincial Councils,

393.

Id., *ibid.*, pp. 387-388. Alexander, *op.cit.*, pp. 129, 137, 148. H.A.R. Gibb, "Studies in contemporary Arabic literature", III, in B.S.O.S., V, 1928-1930, pp. 446-447. 'Aṭṭāra, *op.cit.*, p. 140. Haikal, "Tarājim miṣrīya wa-gharbiya", p. 201. Lloyd, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 50. Symons, *op.cit.*, p. 172. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", p. 145. Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", p. 192. Galal, *op.cit.*, pp. 138, 151-152. M. Guidi, *op.cit.*, pp. 145-147. The date for the foundation of Al-jarīda, given by Brockelmann, "Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur," Suppl. III, p. 257, n. 1, as 1901; and by Abdel Meguid Sadik Ramadan, "L'évolution de la législation sur la presse en Egypte", p. 11, as 1908, should be corrected to 1907.

the Legislative Council and the General Assembly, as a further step in the gradual preparation of Egypt for full representative institutions³⁹⁴.

In the following years the programme of Hizb al-umma did not change much. In 1911, its programme was still based on the same principles. In education they demanded, furthermore, the adoption of Arabic as the language of instruction, the control of education by the Legislative Council, and the encouragement of technical education in the towns. In the political-constitutional field, the party laid greater stress on demands for the liberty and sovereignty of the people. Other demands included promotion of Egyptians in the administrative service and trial of Europeans before

394.

~~Id., ibid.~~ Alexander, op.cit., pp.129-130. Antomarchi, op.cit., pp.19-22. Haikal, "Tarājim miṣrīya wa-gharbiya", p.134. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., p.140. Magd El Din Nassif, op.cit., p.22.

the Mixed Courts for criminal offences³⁹⁵.

The people who constituted Hizb al-umma were of various classes, occupations and interests; but the wealthy and influential, aristocratic and cultivated, predominated. Few in numbers and neither strong nor well-organised enough to withstand the shock of the First World War, the party still included among its adherents persons of much understanding and common sense who tried their best to obtain whatever they thought was urgently needed for Egypt under the régime which then existed and which they could not hope to change easily.

395.

Cunningham, op.cit., pp.235, 250-253. A. Servier, op.cit., p.26; cf. ibid., pp.24, 27 ss. Some of the newspaper articles, dealing with these matters, and dating from 1912-1914, were reprinted in a booklet by Ahmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd, named "Ta'amullāt fī'l-falsafa wa'l-adab wa'l-siyāsa wa'l-ijtimā'". For the present study there is special interest in the articles "Sultāt al-umma" (pp.46-50) and "Min ajli dhālika naṭlub al-dustūr" (pp.96-98).

2. Hizb al-Islāh.

Another group of politicians was formed around the newspaper Al-mu'ayyad, and in 1906 began to achieve sizeable numbers. An Arabic newspaper, published in America, described it as a group of people who, having despaired of driving out the British, were prepared to serve Egypt together with the Occupationists³⁹⁶. It was thus that, soon after the official foundation of Hizb al-umma and Al-hizb al-waṭanī, a third party was founded on December 15, 1907, called "Hizb al-iṣlāh 'alā'l-mabādi' al-dustūrīya (usually translated as the "Constitutional Reformers").³⁹⁷

The head of Hizb al-iṣlāh was Shaikh 'Alī Yūsuf, a prominent member of the General Assembly³⁹⁸, and the editor of Al-mu'ayyad. In this instance, too, the newspaper was the nucleus and soul of the party, as well as its official mouthpiece³⁹⁹.

396.

"Ṣaut min ba'īd", part II, "Hal fī Miṣr Hizb waṭanī wa-lahu za'īm", in Al-jāmi'a, vol.V, Oct.1, 1906, p.228.

397.

Cunningham, op.cit., 11. Cooper, op.cit., pp.73-78. Antomarchi, op.cit., pp.9-10; cf. ibid., pp.13 ss. Al-'Aqqād, op.cit., p.153. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., pp.142-143. Adam, op.cit., p.194. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.157-158.

398.

See above, part I, ch.V. Cf. Alexander, op.cit., p.138. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.181-182.

399.

'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., p.143. Jurjī Zaidān, "Tarājim", 2nd ed., vol.I, p.315. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.157-158. Galal, op.cit., pp.132, 136-137. M.Guidi, op.cit., pp.144 ss.

Al-mu'ayyad was one of the most important Arabic newspapers in Egypt. It first appeared on Dec.1, 1889, and for many years played an important role in the religious, social and political life of Egypt. News and articles dealt with economy and commerce, finance and administration, education and cultural problems, political affairs and geographical discoveries⁴⁰⁰.

The attachment of Hizb al-iṣlāh to the Khedive was expressed in the first paragraph of the party's programme. Their programme advocated:

- 1) Support of the Khedive's authority within the bounds of the Sultan's firmans.
- 2) Demanding from Great Britain the fulfilment of its pledges towards Egypt.
- 3) Representative institutions with full political and administrative powers in Egyptian affairs.

400.

Besides Al-mu'ayyad itself, see H.F.Wood, "Egypt under the British", chs.VII-IX. A.Brown, "Bonaparte in Egypt and the Egyptians of to-day", pp.331-333. Abdel Meguid Sadik Ramadan, op.cit., p.10. Servier, op.cit., pp.30ss. Galal, op.cit., pp.146-148, 153-154. Also material on 'Alī Yūsuf's life, personality and work, mainly Ilyās Zakhūra, op.cit., pp.537-543. 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād's obituary, reprinted in his book "Al-fuṣūl", pp.207-213. Another obituary by E.Graefe in "Der Islam", vol.V, 1914, pp.235-237.

- 4) General and free primary education, instruction being given in Arabic.
- 5) Increase in the number of Egyptians and decrease in the number of Europeans in Government posts.
- 6) Extension of the jurisdiction of the Mixed Courts to criminal cases in which foreigners are concerned.^{401.}

There was little difference in this programme from that of Hizb al-umma, save for the paragraph about the Khedive's authority. This was not a dead letter for the members of the party, as instanced by the appeal launched in Al-mu'ayyad (February-March, 1908) calling on the Egyptians to request the Khedive to institute a Parliament having the powers conferred on the Assembly of Delegates of 1881 ~~(February-March, 1908)~~^{402.}

In 1911 the programme of Hizb al-iṣlāḥ was much the same as above, except for a few additions of a local character: improvements in irrigation and hygiene,

401.

Alexander, op.cit., pp.128-129. Antomarchi, op.cit., pp.23-26. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., p.142. Maḡd El Din Nassif, op.cit., pp.21-22.

402.

Note on "Egypte. Affaires politiques", R.M.M., vol.IV, No.3, Mar.1908, p.613.

better regulations for administering the property of orphans, etc.⁴⁰³.

This programme, which remained unmodified until the death of 'Alī Yūsuf in 1913 (which brought about the breaking-up of the party), was quite moderate. Hizb al-iṣlāḥ had many adherents amongst the princes and notables and tried to maintain a purely political character, by avoiding discussion of religious subjects. It planned to open branches in the provinces under the control of an already existing general committee and administrative council⁴⁰⁴, about which, unfortunately, we know practically nothing. In 1908, however, we hear of the meeting of the General Assembly of Hizb al-iṣlāḥ and its protest against what it considered as the hostile attitude of Lord Cromer's "Modern Egypt"⁴⁰⁵.

403.

Cunningham, op.cit., pp.235-236, 253-260.

404.

Alexander, op.cit., p.128.

405.

C.D., note on "Le mouvement national", in R.M.M., vol.IV, No.4, Apr.1908, pp.809-810.

3. Al-hizb al-watani al-hurr.

Repeating the pattern of the previous parties, a political group came into being within the orbit of another newspaper, Al-muqattam. This was ably edited by some Syrians who had fled from Turkish oppression at home. Prominent among them were Drs. Šarrūf, Nimr and Maqaryūs, all of whom rendered important services to the development of the Arabic press in Egypt⁴⁰⁶.

These Syrians could not but appreciate the great freedom allowed by the British to the Egyptian press and, in Al-muqattam, defended the Occupation by stressing the benefits which it had conferred on Egypt and on its inhabitants. A group of people holding similar views on the Occupation, composed mainly of Copts and Christian Syrians, but including also some wealthy Muslims who were worried by the extremism of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, gathered around Al-muqattam. These men, led by Muḥammad Waḥīd Bey al-Ayyūbī, founded a party in May 1907 which, however, did not begin its activities until 1908⁴⁰⁷.

406.

A. Browne, op.cit., pp.336 ss. M. Hartmann, op.cit., p.10. H.F.Wood, op.cit., ch.9. A. Servier, op.cit., pp. 44 ss. Antomarchi, op.cit., pp.31-33. Ilyās Zakhūra, op.cit., pp.465-472, 529-536. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., p.143. Abdel Maguid Sadik Ramadan, op.cit., p.10. Galal, op.cit., p.131.

407. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., pp.140, 143, 144. Alexander, op.cit., p.131.

Muḥammad Wahīd was the very heart of the party, which assumed the name "Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ḥurr" (The National Free Party). In 1908 he published in Al-muqattam a touching farewell to Lord Cromer⁴⁰⁸ and a friendly welcome to Sir Eldon Gorst⁴⁰⁹.

In an open letter to Sir Edward Grey, written in September, 1908, Muḥammad Wahīd praised the benefits of British rule in Egypt and outlined the programme of his party. This programme had two main aims: first, to keep friendly relations with the Occupying Power and to work with it to introduce beneficial reforms into Egypt; secondly, to spread education among the Egyptians, in order that they might be able to profit by the advantages of European civilisation⁴¹⁰.

It was to be expected that this friendly attitude towards the British would awake the resentment of the other Egyptian parties, mainly Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī. Indeed, Muḥammad Wahīd was heavily attacked in the press, and his⁴¹¹ own articles were often used against him in actions for libel. Harassed on all sides, the influence of Muḥammad Wahīd and Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ḥurr was soon on the wane and little was heard about them after 1910.

408. Part English translation in Alexander, op.cit., p.95.
 409. Ibid., p.131.
 410. Alexander, op.cit., p.131. 'Aṭṭāra, op.cit., p.140.
 411. Alexander, ibid., pp.132-133, 367-368.

4. The Party of Nobles.

Towards the close of his life, Muṣṭafā Kāmil had drawn away from the Khedive. His successor in the leadership of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, Muḥammad Farīd, went further and attacked the Khedive personally in the pages of Al-liwā'. With the growing friendliness between the Khedive and Sir Eldon Gorst, these attacks grew more bitter, and in protest against this abuse, in 1908, some of its adherents left the Party and, together with some Egyptians and Turko-Egyptians of the wealthier class, formed a new group which they named "The Party of Nobles".

Among the most outstanding members of this new Party were Hasan Ḥilmī Bey and Thabāt Faraj al-Jirjāwī. The former, son of an ex-Minister of State Domains, was considered its leader. In speaking of the aims of his followers, he defined them as loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, devotion to the Khedivial house and co-operation with the British for the regeneration of Egypt⁴¹². However, this Party, never of great importance, soon became nothing but a name.

412.

Alexander, op.cit., pp.184-185, 195.

5. The Party of Independent Egyptians.

Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī's propaganda attacks upon the Copts naturally caused them some alarm and soon, after Muṣṭafā Kāmil's death, Akhnūkh Fānūs (1856-1918)⁴¹³, a highly educated Copt, who practised law, founded the "Party of Independent Egyptians". Its membership was, for the most part, Coptic, with some influential, wealthy Muslims.

A short time after the creation of the Party, in 1908, Akhnūkh Fānūs, who was quite a prolific article-writer himself, was interviewed by the Egyptian Gazette. He declared that after guarantees had been given to England, Egyptians should be granted control of their internal affairs. He defined the aims of his party as follow:

- 1) Inseparability of Egypt and the Sudan.
- 2) Independence of Egypt.
- 3) Abolition of the Capitulations.
- 4) Prosperity and progress of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley.
- 5) Expansion of the term "Egyptian" to denote those of Egyptian origin and those naturalised.

413.

Notice on "Al-duktūr Akhnūkh Fānūs" in Al-muqtaṭaf, vol. LIV, Jan. 1, 1919, p. 94.

6) Simplification of the Egyptian naturalisation laws.

Means and methods:

- i) Establishment of real friendship between Egypt and England.
- ii) Keeping good relations with the foreigners in Egypt and guaranteeing their rights and interests by legislation.
- iii) Separation of religion from politics by legislation.
- iv) Imposition of income tax on foreigners.
- v) A treaty between England and Egypt, by which commercial facilities will be given to the first and military guarantees to the second.
- vi) Creation of two constitutional chambers with legislative powers, half of one to be composed of elected foreigners residing at least five years in Egypt.
- vii) Compulsory primary education for both sexes.
- viii) Uniformity of jurisdiction: one common law, civil and criminal.⁴¹⁴

The Party made hardly any observable impress on the political life of Egypt, and its activities soon came to an obscure, unnoticed, end.

414.

Alexander, op.cit., pp.174-178; cf. ibid., pp.156-157. Cunningham, op.cit., pp.260-264. Cooper, op.cit., pp.77-78. Cf. F.R.'s mockery of this programme in "Egypt, a monthly record of Egyptian and Near Eastern news", vol.1, No.7, Sep.1911, p.72. On Akhnūkh Fānūs's life up to 1897 see Ilyās Zakhūra, op.cit., pp.497-499. Obituary in Al-hilāl, vol.XXVII, Jan.1, 1919, pp.366-

6. The "Young Egyptian" or "Constitutional" Party.

The victory of the Young Turks, in the summer of 1908, came as a surprise to most Egyptians, and aroused hopes of obtaining for Egypt parliamentary rights of a similar nature and scope. It is indicative of the political immaturity of the country at this time that, in the enthusiasm of the moment, and despite the fact that it was among the leading ideals of all the other important political groups, another party was formed to champion this cause. It assumed the name of "Young Egyptian Party"⁴¹⁵.

This party began its activity in 1909, under the leadership of Idrīs Rāghib Bey, much to the displeasure of Al-hizb al-waṭanī, which did not like the attitude of the new party towards the Occupation, and that of Hizb al-iṣlāḥ (Constitutional Reformers), which heard with indignation of Idrīs Rāghib's desire to change the name of his party into "The Constitutional Party"⁴¹⁶.

In an appeal to the Parliament and people of Great Britain, Idrīs Rāghib explained the raison d'être

415.

Alexander, op.cit., pp.168-173. Kamal Itani, op.cit., p.119.

416.

Alexander, op.cit., pp.277, 281.

of his party. He maintained that the reason for the British mistrust of the Egyptians was founded on a misunderstanding: British public opinion believed that there was only one party in Egypt, called by different names, essentially anti-British, and therefore ungrateful. The "Young Egyptian Party" had been formed to show the British the real sentiments of the Egyptian majority towards them; and to the people of Egypt that Great Britain was always ready to listen to the just complaints of a responsible people. The Party appreciated the services which the British had rendered to Egypt, though education and the development of representative institutions still left much to be desired. The latter ought to be at least a transition stage between the proconsular and the completely representative systems. The status quo of Egypt should be guaranteed⁴¹⁷.

Apart from its enunciation, this programme seemed to receive no further attention, and in 1910 "L'Egypte", under the editorship of Idrīs Rāghib, showed very much the same tendencies as the press of Al-ḥizb al-waṭani⁴¹⁸. It is possible, also, that there was a merger of the two, for no more is to be heard about the "Young Egyptian Party" after this date.

417. Ibid., pp. 277-281.

418. Ibid., p. 363.

There were seven parties in Egypt before 1907 and the outbreak of World War I: Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, Ḥizb al-umma, Ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ 'alā' l-mabādi' al-ḍustūrīya, Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ḥurr, the Party of Nobles, the Party of Independent Egyptians, and the Young Egyptian (afterwards Constitutional) Party. The first was the largest in number, most vociferous and best organised. The second and third were smaller and were chiefly attached to the Occupation and the Khedive respectively ⁴¹⁹. The others were politically insignificant groups, Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ḥurr and the Party of Independent Egyptians being more "Occupationist" than Ḥizb al-umma, and the Party of the Nobles being more attached to the Khedive than Ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ.

Practically none of these parties was organised on European lines, for Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, which might seem the exception, was only thus theoretically. Kāmil died before he could complete his work and there was no-one of his capacity and knowledge to take up where he left off. In practice, these parties were based upon personal

419.

Hugo Linke does not mention the existence of any other political parties except these three in his note on "Der ägyptische Nationalismus", in *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. II, Nos. 2-4, Dec. 15, 1914, pp. 333-334.

attachments to the leader, and the leadership itself was often merely the cloak of private ambition. This accounts for the steady decline and rapid disappearance of these parties as soon as the personage to whom they were connected died or fell from favour. Again Al-hizb al-waṭanī must be considered the exception, and the fact that it was the only one to survive the First World War may be directly attributed to this.

The published programmes of all these parties show an amazing resemblance to one another; save for education, they were little interested in internal issues, cultural, social or economic. They all regarded, with an almost supreme indifference, the hardships of the fallahin; while their programmes might show some sympathy and concern, in none of their activities was there any effort to alleviate the lot of their unfortunate countrymen. Centred in the towns, these parties felt the presence of the British Occupation more acutely than the fallah. On the whole, it was in their attitude towards the Occupation, and the vigour with which they opposed or supported it, that these parties differed from one another.

.....

CH. VI. THE WAFD.

The great number of political parties formed in Egypt in the years immediately before World War I was another manifestation of an awakening political and national consciousness⁴²⁰. These rising feelings were early symptoms of the Thaura or Revolution which was in the air.

The progress of education and the considerable growth of the vernacular Press in Egypt had caused, in a large measure, a gradual increase in the interest taken in politics. More and more Egyptians began to be aware of the importance of the resources of their country, and, moreover, of the existence of better conditions to which they might aspire. Politics, the

420.

Aly Shamsy, "An Egyptian opinion: Egypt and the right of nations", p.7. W.E. Hocking, "The spirit of world politics", p.59. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, "L'Égypte indépendante", pp.29-30.

means to achieve their aspirations, was the all-absorbing topic during the First World War and immediately after⁴²¹.

The unpopularity of the British-imposed Protectorate and the ban on political activities under martial law excited what public opinion was then in Egypt. The principle of self-determination, which had been proclaimed by President Wilson and accepted by Great Britain, strongly impressed the Egyptians, and many were anxiously awaiting the realisation of these pledges⁴²². Few were indifferent or apathetic, practically none pro-British.

Indeed, one of the main characteristics of the Thaura was the complete lack of support for the British among the Egyptians. No trace was left of those parties, which, prior to the First World War, had supported the Occupation either covertly or openly. The

421.

Cunningham, op.cit., pp.233-234; contrast with Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", p.199. M. Caillard, "A lifetime in Egypt, 1876-1935", p.248 and passim. Young, "Egypt", pp.179-180.

422.

Forster, "Egypt", p.6. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., p.34. R. Lambelin, "L'Egypte et l'Angleterre", pp.120-121.

whole population had experienced in one way or another privations of the war — especially in such forms as the requisitioning of property, etc. — and were now unanimous in their national demands, no longer for mere autonomy but for total independence and sovereignty. From former pro-British Ministers, like Sa'd Zaghlūl, down to school-children, everybody joined in the movement for independence, participating in boycotts, strikes and sabotage⁴²³.

The scope of the popular movement was very striking. The proclamation of a republic in Minyā, Zifta, and other places⁴²⁴, was rather far-fetched but it is an illustration of the spirit of the times. Not only the army and the religious element, as in 'Urābī's days, or the educated youth, as in Muṣṭafā Kāmil 's time, took part in the movement, but the fallahin, too, participated enthusiastically, and made sacrifices in their

423.

Article on "Wizārat al-umma wa-ra'isuhā", in Al-muqtataf, vol.LXIV, Mar.1, 1924, p.243. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.186-188. Young, op.cit., pp.231-232. Hocling, op.cit., pp.55-56, 170.

424.

M. Sabry, "La révolution égyptienne", vol.I, pp. 84-85.

meagre budgets to give donations for the voyage of the Wafd to Europe. The small bourgeois class played its part, too, in the towns; while the old aristocracy, though not always taking an active part, at least did not oppose it⁴²⁵.

Side by side with the fallahin stood their wives and daughters, like their sisters in the towns. The latter left their harems, participated in

425.

S. Clarke, "The unrest in Egypt", p.1 ss. Tawwaf, "Egypt, 1919, being a narrative of certain incidents of the rising in Upper Egypt", passim. Article on "Wizārat al-umma wa-ra'isuhā, in Al-muqtataf, vol. LXIV, Mar.1, 1924, p.243. J. d'Ivray, "L'Égypte éternelle", Avant-propos, pp.XV-XVI. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.186-187. Kohn, "Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient", pp.153, 164. L. Stoddard, "The new world of Islam", pp.178-179. Young, op.cit., pp.177-178. For the sympathetic attitude of the ruling class see the documents in 'Umar Ṭūsūn, "Mudhakkara bimā ṣadāra 'annā mundhu fajr al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniya al-misriya" and in al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol.II, pp.99, 138.

demonstrations, formed strike pickets, published protests, etc.⁴²⁶ This was an unprecedented thing for the Muslim women in Egypt. Moreover, students of al-Azhar and of the high schools, pupils of both sexes, and children, took a very active part in propaganda, demonstrations and strikes. Thus the agitation fostered in the schools during the war, when no other platform for agitation had been available, bore fruit⁴²⁷.

426.

Article on "Fajr 'ahd jadīd fī Miṣr", in Al-hilāl, vol. XXVII, May 1, 1919, p.679. Article on "Nahḍat al-mar'a al-miṣriya wa'l-mar'a al-'arabiya fī'l-ta'rīkh", part III, ibid., June 1, 1919, pp.882 ss. Egyptian delegation to the peace conference, "White Book", passim. M. Sabry, "La révolution égyptienne", vol.I, pp.42-43, 73-74. French translation of a protest of Egyptian women to the representatives of the Powers in Egypt, dated Mar.8, 1922, cf. Orient et Occident, No.5, May 1922, pp.100-101. Aḥmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", passim. 'Attāra, op.cit., p.154. Riyād Shams, "Al-'anāsir al-thalātha li'l-qaumiya al-miṣriya", in Al-kātib al-miṣrī, fasc.XI, Aug. 1946, p.505. Stoddard, op.cit., p.180. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., p.34. Kohn, "Geschichte, der nationalen Bewegung im Orient", p.165.

427.

Aḥmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.336-337, vol.II, pp.44, 48-49. Lloyd, op.cit., vol.I, pp.297-298. Caillard, op.cit., p.248. M. Sabry, "La révolution égyptienne", vol.I, pp.43 ss. J.E. Marshall, op.cit., pp.183-184. Foster, op.cit., p.7. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", pp.144, 245, 278. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., pp.33-34. E.Klingmüller, op.cit., p.21.

Another notable feature of the powerful movement for independence in Egypt after the war, which was also symptomatic of the all-embracing character of the movement, was the unity of Muslims and Copts. The crescent and the cross were interwoven on the banners during the demonstrations; Ulema preached in churches, and priests in mosques; Copts were among the closest co-operators of Zaghāl⁴²⁸.

Largely responsible for this union was the leader of this movement, Sa'd Zaghāl. Of fallah birth, he had taken part in the 'Urābī Rebellion and later, while a student at al-Azhar, was a disciple of Muḥammad 'Abduḥ; while studying law in Paris, he came under French influence. In 1906, he was President of the founding committee of the Egyptian University. Lord Cromer, who had noticed his talents,

428.

Tawwaf, op.cit., p.46. M. Sabry, "La révolution égyptienne," vol.I, pp.38-42, 74-75. V. Marguerite, "La voix de l'Égypte", pp.15-16. M. Pernot, "L'inquiétude de l'Orient sur la route de l'Inde", pp.61-64. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.187-188. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.22, 47-48. Stoddard, op.cit., pp.179-180.

secured for Zaghlūl the post of Minister of Education and later the Ministry of Justice. Well-acquainted with the strong and weak points of his followers and of his opponents, a fearless and eloquent orator, Zaghlūl seemed well suited for the leadership of this movement for independence⁴²⁹.

Zaghlūl's victory in the elections to the Legislative Assembly and his active part in the debates of that body⁴³⁰ secured for him a number of staunch friends and admirers. In the months preceding the outbreak of the war, Zaghlūl and his supporters demanded the abolition of the Capitulations, constitutional reforms, improvements in education and agriculture, and, above all, the independence of Egypt⁴³¹.

It was around this group that the Wafd was to be formed.

The first architects of this popular movement, which afterwards was to enable Egypt to acquire its

429.

Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., pp.31-32.

430.

See above, part I, ch.VI.

431.

Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥawliyyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.144 ss. Amine Youssef, op.cit., pp.15, 49-50.

independence under the leadership of the Wafd, are unknown. There are three versions about their identity:

The first has it that Prince ʿUmar Ṭūsūn (1872-1944)⁴³², one of the highly-educated members of the Khedivial family, planned during the war to lay a draft before the Peace Conference, in which he would request all nations to consider the Egyptian Question. He consulted Muḥammad Saʿīd, who approached Zaghlūl on the subject. The idea of bringing the Egyptian Question for decision before an international forum became one of the moving ideas of the Wafd and was not abandoned totally, even when the Wafd tried to reach an agreement with Great Britain alone as a quicker way of solving the problem.

Others think that Zaghlūl considered the matter with some leading Egyptian personalities, like ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī Bey, ʿAlī Shaʿrāwī Pasha and Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd Bey. At the end of September, 1918, they planned together which diplomatic steps must be taken against Great Britain.

432.

An obituary of this prince and a bibliography of his works were contributed by Gaston Wiet, "Son altesse le prince Omar Toussoun", Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, vol. XXVI, 1944, pp.1-19.

A third version says that Ḥusain Rushdī Pasha, the Prime Minister, feeling himself responsible for the future of Egypt, had a similar plan, which he disclosed to 'Adlī Yegen Pasha, and the latter won over Zaghlūl and his adherents⁴³³.

It is difficult to ascertain which of these accounts is the correct one, because no written evidence has remained. But it is quite possible that many of the leading political men of Egypt had busied themselves with projects for the achievement of Egypt's independence at the end of World War I, and there may well have been some unofficial co-operation between them regarding these plans.

The course of the Egyptian Thaura will not be studied in detail in the course of this work⁴³⁴. The

433.

For the three versions, cf. 'Umar Tūsūn, op.cit., pp.4-27. Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.144-145. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.16-17. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol.I, pp.75-76. See also Wavell, op.cit., p.40. Ransome, "The history of the Egyptian crisis", in the Manchester Guardian, Mar.30, 1925, p.12, cols.1-2.

434.

A serious detailed description is given by Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.246 ss., and the following vols. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919". Sabry, "La révolution égyptienne". Wavell, op.cit., pp.40 ss.

first difficulty the Wafd — i.e., the Delegation formed of Zaghlūl and a few others, who desired to attend the Peace Conference as representatives of Egypt — was to forestall another Egyptian delegation. The latter was headed by an ex-Prime Minister, Muḥammad Saʿīd (under the patronage of Prince ʿUmar Ṭūsūn) and was composed of leading members of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī. Zaghlūl's delegation assumed the title "Al-wafd al-miṣrī" (The Egyptian delegation), while the other styled itself "Al-wafd al-waṭanī" (The National delegation). In the end it was Zaghlūl's delegation which had the upper hand, winning for itself not a few adherents of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, chiefly Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās Bey. It retained the name "Wafd" henceforth⁴³⁵.

After many meetings and deliberations, Zaghlūl and his friends and colleagues formed the Wafd from members of the late Legislative Assembly. The most eminent

435.

Amine Youssef, op.cit., pp.62-65. Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", pp.232-233. B.A., quoted by Adam, "L'Angleterre en Egypte", pp.219-222. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.18-19.

members in the Delegation were — besides Zaghlūl — ‘Alī Shā‘rāwī Pasha, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Fahmī Bey, Ahmad Luṭfī al-Sayīd Bey, ‘Abd al-Latīf al-Makabbātī Bey, Muḥammad ‘Alī Bey, Ḥamad al-Bāsil Pasha, and Sanyūt Hannā Bey. These represented the various religions and social elements of Egypt⁴³⁶.

The composition of the Wafd varied soon after its formation and never remained fixed for very long, from that time, because of arrests or of disputes between certain members and Zaghlūl⁴³⁷. This instability in membership was to be one of the chief characteristics of the Wafd for a long time.

The first proclamation of the Wafd was issued in November 1918, soon after their fruitless meeting

436.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥālīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, passim. Egyptian delegation to the peace conference, op.cit., pp.40, 53. Amine Youssef, op.cit., pp.61-62. Hocking, op.cit., p.58. J.E.Marshall, "The solution of the Egyptian problem", Quar.Rev., Oct. 1927. Magd El Din Nassif, op.cit., pp.24-25. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., p.186.

437.

Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism in the Hither East", pp.82-83. N. [Carlo Alfonso Nallino], in Oriente Moderno, vol.I, 1921-1922, p.556.

with the British High Commissioner for Egypt, Sir Reginald Wingate. The Wafd then issued a proclamation demanding a public mandate for achieving the complete independence of Egypt by peaceful means. This document was first intended to be signed only by the members of the late Legislative Assembly, but, as popular interest was aroused, copies were sent throughout Egypt for everybody to sign. Thus the Wafd hoped to gain a national representative character⁴³⁸. Copies, signed and unsigned, were seized by the British authorities and trouble broke out in Egypt.

The Wafd, who led this movement for complete independence, organized itself early in its career. Besides a special apparatus of propaganda, which will be described later, the adherents of the Wafd in the towns were so well disciplined that, at a sign, shops would be closed, boycotts started and strikes organised. It had committees and branches in the remotest villages — all of which were connected to the House of the Nation

438.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥawāliyyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.153-154.
 Amine Youssef, op.cit., p.62. Kampfmeier, op.cit.,
 M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, p.21.

(Bait al-umma), Zaghlūl's residence⁴³⁹.

It was this organisation which gave the Wafd its immense majority in the 1923-1924 Parliamentary elections⁴⁴⁰.

When the Wafd departed for Europe in April, 1919, a Central committee (*Lajna Markaziya*) was left in Egypt to inform the Delegation of local events and help it with funds. The Wafd in Europe could, by the aid of this Central committee, influence public opinion in Egypt⁴⁴¹. Following the example of India, the Wafd also organised a list of directing committees, which officiated successively, one in place of the other as soon as a committee was arrested.

The first programme of the constitution of the Wafd contained 26 paragraphs⁴⁴². After a list of

439.

Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", p.239. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., p.33.

440.

G.T. [Giuseppe Tegani], in Oriente Moderno, vol.III, pp.1923-248, based on the Daily Herald, Aug.7, 1923.

441.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, p.329. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.22-23.

442.

See App.13. Cf. Ahmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.154-156. Klingmüller, op.cit., App. I, pp.147-151. See also 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, "Ṣa'ad Zaghlūl sīra wa-tahīya," pp.195-196.

the members composing the Wafd (§ 1), the main aim is defined: to achieve Egypt's independence by peaceful means (§ 2). The Wafd is empowered by the people to represent it (§ 3). Every member of the Wafd is sworn to secrecy (§§ 6, 23). Members or commissions of the Wafd may be appointed for certain missions (§§ 9, 12). The Wafd appoints⁴⁴³ a president, a secretary and a treasurer (§ 11). The President directs the Wafd, presides at its meetings, watches over its organisation, supervises the proceedings of the commissions, the work of the secretary and the conditions of the funds (§ 13). The secretary controls the written work of the Wafd, its archives and all its papers except the accounts (§ 14). The treasurer supervises all the accounts of the Wafd and is responsible for the funds (§ 15). Protocols of the meetings will be made in European fashion (§§ 16-19). A member of the Wafd can deal with persons of political standing in the name of the Wafd only with the permission of the President, to whom he must also report the contents of his conversation in writing (§ 20). The Wafd elects a "Central committee for the Egyptian Wafd", composed of outstanding people, who are expected to collect funds for the Wafd.

443.

"Yu'aīynu". One would expect "elects" insteads of "appoints".

The most important points of this constitutive programme are: firstly, the thorough organisation of this body and, secondly, the large powers conferred on the President. The latter can, as a matter of fact, not only preside over the meetings and sign the protocols, but even supervise all the work done by the officers of the Wafd and its members, whose dealings with political personages are closely controlled by him.

As to the general policy of the Wafd, as defined by Zaghlūl in his appeal to the Powers at the beginning of the Thaura, the Wafd worked for independence, which was the right of Egypt; for constitutional government, with reservations respecting foreign rights, mainly the capitulations, the public debt and the neutrality of the Suez Canal⁴⁴⁴. The last clauses were intended to soothe the susceptibilities of those who had financial interests in Egypt. Afterwards reforms in education and in the moral and material status of the fallahin and workmen were added to its programme⁴⁴⁵.

444.

Elgood, "The transit of Egypt", pp.232-233.

445.

Centre d'études de politique étrangère, op.cit., p.32.

Not a very different programme was enunciated in 1921 by the Cairene Al-akhbār, organ of the Wafd. In an editorial, the paper exhorted the official Delegation to remember to accept nothing but absolute independence, internal and external. Internal independence signifies complete supervision over financial, legislative, judicial, administrative, agricultural and commercial departments, police and public works. This will imply the British evacuation and the ceasing of all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Egypt. In its external relations, Egypt must have full control in the conduct of its foreign policy in its own interests⁴⁴⁶. This article, contributed by Muḥammad Kamāl, member of the late Legislative Assembly, was intransigent in its demand for absolute unalleviated independence.

When the Parliamentary session opened in London in the early part of February, 1922, the Wafd sent a telegram to the "Times", requesting the representatives of the British people to make reparations for the injustice to which Egypt had been subjected. This

446.

Al-Akhbār, June 26, 1921, quoted by V. de B. Virginia de Bosis, in Oriente Moderno, I, 1921-1922, p165.

telegram outlined the programme of the Wafd and was signed, in the absence of Zaghlūl — who was under arrest — by Hamād al-Bāsil, member of the late Legislative Assembly and one of the founders of the Wafd; Wāṣif Ghālī Bey, a lawyer; Wīṣā Wāṣif Bey, a lawyer at the Mixed Court in Cairo; Jūrj Khayyāt Bey, a notable of Asyūt; 'Alī Māhir Bey, a lawyer; 'Elwī Jazzār Bey, a member of the late Legislative Assembly; Murād al-Sharī'ī Bey, a notable of Minyā.

The programme, after asserting that Egypt had never been part of the British Empire, stressed four points:

- 1) Egypt ought not to be dominated by any foreign power; this could be arranged by a treaty of alliance between Egypt and Great Britain.
- 2) Safety of the Suez Canal; its neutrality was already ensured by international treaties, and the Egyptian army could be responsible for the neutrality of the Canal.
- 3) Guarantees for the interests of British subjects in Egypt; foreigners in Egypt were safe even before the Occupation, and the Capitulations — which could be modified by eventual agreements — safeguarded all the foreign interests in Egypt.

- 4) Guarantees for the British shareholders in the Egyptian public debt; these interests were already safeguarded by the "Caisse de la dette publique", the existence of which might be prolonged.⁴⁴⁷

This programme was a retreat from the defiant attitude expressed in Al-akhbār in 1921 and a return to the policy advocated by the Wafd since its inception. It aimed at obtaining the independence of Egypt by peaceful means — a treaty of alliance. The concessions which the Wafd was ready to make in the favour of Great Britain were not considered vital for Egypt's independence, and were designed to dissuade British financial circles from opposing the treaty of alliance with Egypt.

Up to 1922, the Wafd had led the movement for Egypt's independence and Zaghlūl had been the popular hero of Egypt. Out of the many patriotic songs composed in Egypt after the First World War⁴⁴⁸ not a few were in his honour.⁴⁴⁹

447.

The Times, Feb. 11, 1922, summarised by V.V. Virginia Vacca de Bosis, in Oriente Moderno, vol. I, 1921-1922, pp. 623-624.

448.

Al-hilāl, vol. XXIX, Jan. 1, 1921, pp. 337-339; *ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1921, pp. 534-535; *ibid.*, May 1, 1921, p. 817. E. Littmann, "Ägyptische Nationallieder und Königslieder der Gegenwart".

449. Al-hilāl, vol. XXIX, May 1, 1921, p. 817; *ibid.*, vol. XXXI, Mar. 1, 1923, p. 662; *ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1923, p. 777.

But on February 28 of that year the British "Declaration of independence" for Egypt had set it at variance with other political groups in Egypt. The declaration in itself was an important advance: it was the first time that a colonial Power recognised officially the independence of a country into which it had entered by force⁴⁵⁰. But, while other political groups were enthusiastic at this declaration, the Wafd protested against it strongly, as offering only a sham independence⁴⁵¹.

Another point on which the Wafd was at variance with other political groups at the time was the framing of the 1923 Constitution. The Wafd's main argument ~~was~~

450.

H. Leoust, "L'évolution politique et culturelle de l'Egypte contemporaine", in Centre d'études de politique étrangère, "Eutretiens sur l'évolution des pays de civilisation arabe", p.73.

451.

Al-akhbār, Mar.2, 1923, summarised by E.R. [= Ettore Rossi], in Oriente Moderno, vol.II, 1922-1923, p.617; cf. ibid., pp.617-618, 693. Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Memorandum on a study of the working of democratic institutions of government in Egypt" (stencilled), pp.6-7. See also Wavell, op.cit., p.83, for the grounds of these protests.

was that constitutions should be framed by the elected representatives of the people and not by appointed commissions.⁴⁵²

It still tried to find common ground with other Egyptian political groups⁴⁵³, but these internal differences made its leaders realise that the Wafd was not the people, as they had thought, but only a party. So they found it advantageous to their cause to constitute themselves into a political party; for, up to that time, though the Wafd had copied the Western pattern of party organisation and had issued programmatic manifestoes, it was not a political party in the accepted sense of the term.

The final decision came during the Parliamentary session of 1924. Adherents of the Wafd often embarrassed the Government by their questions and opposed it in the voting. The stern discipline of party organisation was

452.

For a French translation of a manifesto of the Wafd, dated Mar.22, 1923, protesting that the Egyptian constitution had not been drafted by the people, see *Orient et Occident*, No.16, Apr.15, 1923, pp.655-656. Cf. also *ibid.*, No.17, May 15, 1923, pp.70-71.

453.

Note on "Der ägyptische Nationalpakt" in *Die Welt des Islams*, vol.VIII, No.1, 1923, pp.17-18, based on *Ägyptische Korrespondenz* of Dec.1922.

needed in order to do away with these inconveniences.^{293.}

On April 26, 1924, the Wafd adherents in the Chamber of Deputies met at the house of Ḥamad al-Bāsil Pasha.

William Makram 'Ubaid, usually called the "Orator of the Wafd", read the constitutive manifesto; then the name of the new party was fixed as the "Parliamentarian Wafd Party" (Al-hizb al-wafdī al-niyābī).

At this meeting, the regulations were decided upon, too. According to them the Executive Committee, presided over by Zaghlūl, was to comprise two members for each Mudīriya. The fourteen deputies were elected on the spot, and it was decided to unite the old "Committee of the Wafd" with the new "Executive committee". On May 14, 1924, the adherents of the Wafd in the Senate decided to form a "Senatorial Wafd party", the Executive Committee of which was elected immediately. Zaghlūl was present on both occasions, and probably inspired these new moves⁴⁵⁴.

454.

Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Al-ḥaulīya al-ūlā, vol.I, pp.150 ss. Al-ahrām, Apr.27, 1924, quoted by V.V. [Virginia Vacca], in Oriente Moderno, vol.IV, 1924, p.467. The Times, Apr.29, 1924, quoted by U.F. [Ubaldo Faldati], ibid., p.468. L'Imparziale, May 17, 1924, quoted by V.V. [Virginia Vacca], ibid., ibid. M.M. Moreno, "La situazione interna dell'Egitto dall'uccisione del Sirdar ad oggi", ibid., p.vol.V, 1925, p.227. Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism in the Hither East", pp.82-83. Klingmüller, op.cit., p.67.

Between 1918 and 1924 the Wafd saw as its main task, on the road to absolute independence, the achievement of unity among all Egyptians. This they called "The Sacred Union" (Al-ittihād al-muqaddas), an expression obviously borrowed from the French "Union Sacrée", so widely used in the Allied press during the First World War⁴⁵⁵. For the realisation of this task, the Wafd strove: (a) to unite under its leadership all Egyptians irrespective of religion or class; (b) to organise the existing public opinion in Egypt in its favour. The Wafd succeeded in achieving and leading Al-ittihād al-muqaddas mainly by perseverance in, and persistent, propaganda.

Among the methods used by the Wafd, as has already been described, was (from Zaghlūl's arrest) that the leading committee of the Wafd formed and

455.

For a short sketch of the development of the idea of "Union Sacrée" in France, cf. D.W. Brogan, "The problem of Union Sacrée in France", in International Affairs, vol. XX, No. 1, Jan. 1944, pp. 103-108.

re-formed after each arrest⁴⁵⁶. These committees never ceased spreading propaganda. They tried their utmost to obtain the release of Zaghlūl, who was described as an ailing, old, man detained by the unmanly British in a murderous climate. The Wafd did not have to restrict itself only to abstract debates and constitutional problems, for by thus making a martyr of Zaghlūl, the propagandists could sway the emotions of the mob easily with a description of things they could more readily understand.⁴⁵⁷

Another means of stirring public opinion against the British was to start campaigns of passive resistance to them whenever Wafd leaders were arrested or deported. In a manifesto dated January 23, 1922, the Egyptians were incited to resist the British passively (Muqāwama salbiya) in two ways: non-co-operation and boycott.

456.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.III, p.251 and passim. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.50-51, 57. Oriente Moderno, vol.I, 1929-1922, pp.527, 556.

457.

Klingmüller, op.cit., p.48.

Non-co-operation ('Adam al-mu'āwana): all private relations with the British should be severed; they should be given no help and their advice go unheeded; there should be no participation in ~~the~~ any Ministry, so that the English alone would be responsible for the results of a policy of force; all administration officials are the delegates of the people and should remember this order; Egyptians must address themselves only to Egyptian officials, and lawyers — only to Egyptian judges.⁴⁵⁸

Boycott: Egyptians should withdraw their money from English banks and deposit it in "Bank Miṣr", buying at the same time shares of the same bank; Egyptians should not do business with British firms, nor use British boats for any purpose; Egyptian porters must refuse to serve British ships; national manufactures should be preferred, and affairs preferably done with Egyptian merchants; British merchandise — even goods handled by the British — must be boycotted thoroughly.

458.

On the effects of this non-co-operation policy see, for instance, *Orient et Occident*, No.1, Jan.1922, p.135.

Egyptian merchants were granted a respite of 3-6 months to sell British goods already in stock. Commissions were to enforce the boycotts and see to it that Egyptians who infringed the rules of the boycotts should be boycotted in their turn⁴⁵⁹.

But usually the Wafd took less drastic measures. In June, 1921, for example, petitions requesting the resignation of the Egyptian Cabinet were passed from hand to hand for signature⁴⁶⁰. In this instance, again, the Wafd made good use of the improvements in communications, which made it comparatively easy to transfer messages from one place to another. On the 14th of that month a large meeting in Cairo heard Zaghlūl protest against the speech of Churchill respecting Egypt⁴⁶¹. In September-October

459.

Arabic text in Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥawāliyyāt", Tamhīd, vol.II, pp.668-674. English translation in the Daily Herald, Jan.25, 1922. Italian translation in Oriente Moderno, vol. I, 1921-1922, pp.527-529.

460.

V. de B. [=Virginia de Bosis] in Oriente Moderno, vol.I, pp.1921-1922, p.103.

461.

The Times, summarised by id., ibid., p.104; cf. ibid., p.167.

of the same year, five Labour Members of Parliament from the U.K. visited Egypt. The Wafd took pains that they should be acclaimed everywhere unanimously, but that everybody meeting them should express an immutable desire for Egypt's independence.

From the Report⁴⁶² which the Members of Parliament published after their return home, it seems that they were greatly impressed by the solidarity of the Egyptian people in their strong demand for independence. They had met and talked with rich and poor, educated and uneducated, attended banquets and meetings, and received deputations. Upon leaving Egypt they were convinced that all Egyptians demanded independence, and that most of the Europeans in Egypt thought that its achievement was inevitable.

Notwithstanding internal dissension and differences of opinion⁴⁶³, the Wafd never 'let up' its vigorous propaganda. It continued to hold meetings

462.

"Report on the present situation in Egypt by five Members of Parliament, etc.". See also Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.II, pp.364 ss. Klingmüller, op.cit., p.36.

463.

Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.II, passim. V.de B. [=Virginia de Bosis], in Oriente Moderno, vol.I, 1921-1922, p.102.

against foreign interference in the affairs of Egypt⁴⁶⁴, to arrange demonstrations⁴⁶⁵, and to publish manifestoes against the British or Egyptian Government⁴⁶⁶, part of which were distributed clandestinely and another part printed in the daily press⁴⁶⁷.

The Press was indeed a powerful organ for the propaganda of the Wafd. Though many newspapers, serious or satirical (like "Al-kashkūl"), attacked the Wafd and its policy, not a few supported it. In 1924 the Wafd controlled, besides its official organ "Kaukab al-sharq", a humoristic weekly called "Khayāl al-zill" (the name of a popular amusement — a kind of shadow-play), and had the support of "Al-ahrām", "Al-balāgh", "Wādī' al-Nīl", and "Miṣr"⁴⁶⁸.

465. N. [=Carlo Alfonso Nallino], in Oriente Moderno, vol.I, 1921-1922, p.627.

466. Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.II, passim. N. [=Carlo Alfonso Nallino], in Oriente Moderno, vol.I, 1921-1922, pp.556,627. E.R. [=Ettore Rossi], ibid, vol.II, 1922-1923, pp.616-618,693.

467. Oriente Moderno, ibid.

468. M.M.Moreno, op.cit., in Oriente Moderno, vol.V, 1925, p.227. For names of papers supporting the Wafd in 1920-1921 see L.M. [=L. Massignon], "La presse musulmane. A. Presse égyptienne", in R.M.M., vol. XLIII, Feb.1921, p.285.

One may get an impression of the violence and ruthlessness of the propaganda disseminated by the Wafd in the Egyptian press from a booklet of Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī, which is a collection of political articles written by him in the years 1921-1923⁴⁶⁹. Many articles reflect a deep mistrust of Great Britain, and suspicion of its intentions towards Egypt. Other articles voice unbounded admiration for Zaghāl, and heap accusations on his opponents. It must be noted that Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī was a well-known writer of the time and, like many other literary men, took an active interest in politics. Gifted poets like Aḥmad Shāqī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm had marked sympathy with the nationalist movement and wrote touching elegies on Sa'd Zaghāl.

It is not known exactly how much, if any, of its propaganda the Wafd spread in other Muslim countries. Some evidence is found in a report by the Cairo correspondent of the Daily Herald, in which he writes that the pilgrims on Mount 'Arafāt, near Mecca, recited prayers for the liberation of Egypt and for its liberator, Zaghāl⁴⁷⁰.

469.

"Al-qadīya al-miṣrīya min sanat 1921 ilā sanat 1923". See also Brockelmann, "Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur", Suppl.III, p.202.

470.

The Daily Herald, Sep.21, 1921, summarised by V. de B. [=Virginia de Bosis], in Oriente Moderno, vol.I, 1921-1922, p.301.

If correct, this information may indicate a sympathy for Egypt's independence aroused by Egyptians among their fellow pilgrims. Such sympathy was hardly the result of organised propaganda. This the Wafd directed almost exclusively towards Egypt — as outlined above — and the Western Powers.

Besides the letters and documents repeatedly sent to the Peace Conference in Paris during the year 1919⁴⁷¹, the Wafd, also, officially approached various leading personalities in world affairs. During the World War, the Wafd had great hopes of the assistance of the United States, which had entered the war — according to the opinion of many Egyptians — to defend high-principled ideas of justice.. The Wafd sent many telegrams to President Wilson and other American political leaders, notably Senator Borah, as well as to the American Senate⁴⁷². Then the Wafd sent one of its ablest members, Muḥammad Maḥmūd Pasha, to the United States, to create sympathy for the cause⁴⁷³.

471.

Egyptian delegation to the peace conference, op.cit., pp.65-96, 103-183. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol.II, pp.25-28.

472.

Egyptian delegation, etc., ibid., pp.98-102. Cf. Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥaulīyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, passim.

473.

Aḥmad Shafīq, ibid., pp.458 ss. Also 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, "Sa'd Zagh'lūl, etc.", pp.206 ss., 275 ss.

Italy was the only European Power among the Allies which had not acknowledged the British Protectorate over Egypt. The Wafd, which had already sent some telegrams to Orlando, sent a petition to the Italian Parliament on August 14, 1919, to protest against paragraphs 147-154 of the Peace Treaty and express the gratitude of the Egyptian people to the Italians for not acknowledging the Protectorate. The petition pointed out that Egypt was a country with a high cultural tradition and an autonomy acquired as far back as 1840. Egypt⁴⁷⁴ certainly had better rights to independence than the Hijaz. The Wafd hoped that the Italian Parliament would continue to refuse to acknowledge the Protectorate⁴⁷⁴.

The propaganda of the Wafd was still more active in Great Britain, the state which was virtually Egypt's master. In 1919, a "White Book" of documents, published by the Wafd, was printed in Paris, in English.⁴⁷⁵ This book

474.

Arabic translation of the text in Ahmad Shafīq, *ibid.*, pp.482-487.

475.

Egyptian delegation to the peace conference, "White Book". An extract was published separately by the Egyptian association in Great Britain under the name "The Egyptian national claims; a memorandum presented by the Egyptian delegation to the peace conference". See also 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, "Sa'd Zagh^hlūl, etc.", pp.205 ss.

contains, besides letters of the Wafd to the British authorities in Egypt, other letters to Lloyd George and to the House of Commons.⁴⁷⁶

The Egyptians in London, mainly the students, strove to help the propaganda of the Wafd; they arranged meetings with British Members of Parliament; printed manifestoes⁴⁷⁷; and arranged demonstrations⁴⁷⁸. During the Milner negotiations in 1920, the Egyptian association in Great Britain and Ireland added to its former publications a new booklet⁴⁷⁹, in which it supported the Wafd, and criticised severely the British suggestions in the proposed Milner-Zaghlūl agreement.

476. Egyptian delegation to the peace conference, op. cit., pp.17-44.

477. 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād, "Saʿd Zaghlūl, etc.", p.275.

488. Orient et Occident, No.2, Feb.1922, p.293.

479. "Memorandum on the real meaning of the proposed Anglo-Egyptian agreement".

Paris was the centre of the Wafd's propaganda. It sent letters to Clémenceau⁴⁸⁰ and published, or encouraged the publication of various other works, like the text of the report to General Allenby on the causes of excitement and discontent in Egypt, in English⁴⁸¹ and French⁴⁸² translations.

Later in the same year the Wafd published another document from its "White Book", viz., its Report to the peace conference on British atrocities in Egypt⁴⁸³. This booklet stresses the help rendered by Egypt to the cause of the Allies during the war, the disregard of the British for individual liberty and the strong refusal of the Egyptians, represented by the Wafd, to be merchandise bartered in the market of political transactions.

480.

Egyptian delegation to the peace conference, op. cit., pp.65 ss. Al-Rāfi'ī, "Thaurat sanat 1919", vol. II, pp.25-28.

481.

"Report presented on March the 30th, 1919, by the Egyptian delegation to His Excellency the General Sir Edmund-Henry-Hymann Allenby, British High Commissioner".

482.

"Rapport présenté le 30 mars, 1919, par la délégation égyptienne à son excellence le général Sir Edmund-Henry-Hymann Allenby, Haut-Commissaire britannique".

483.

"Rapport présenté à la conférence de la paix sur la répression par les troupes britanniques du mouvement national égyptien du mois de mars, 1919".

Soon afterwards the Wafd published a booklet containing the speeches delivered at the end of a luncheon given by the Wafd to about 200 political personalities and representatives of the allied and neutral press in Paris⁴⁸⁴. Sa'd Zaghlūl spoke first, protesting against the confirmation by the Paris Peace Conference of the British Protectorate over Egypt. Wīṣā Wāṣif spoke next of the unkept promises of the British Governments, of Egypt's contribution to the Allied cause, and of Egypt being worthier of independence than the Turkish provinces.

Then Augagneur, a député, described the attachment which all Frenchmen felt for the Egyptian cause⁴⁸⁵. Victor Marguerite, the writer, encouraged the Egyptians to hope for justice⁴⁸⁶. Muḥammad Maḥmūd

484.

"Discours prononcés au déjeuner offert par la délégation égyptienne le 2 août, 1919".

485.

It is remarkable that Augagneur had been, as early as 1910, one of those Frenchmen who took part in and warmly supported the Congress of the Nationalist Party in Brussels (see "Oeuvres du congrès national égyptien tenu à Bruxelles le 22, 23, 24 septembre, 1910").

486.

The Wafd succeeded also in inducing V. Marguerite to write a booklet in favour of Egypt's claims, to which Anatole France added a few words (Cf. 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, "Sa'd Zaghlūl, etc.," p.274).

spoke in English and so did Herbert Gibbons Adams, a staunch supporter of Egyptian independence. They were followed by Emmanuel, in the name of the Italian Press. Letters of congratulation and excuse for absence were then read.

On Dec. 11, 1919, the "Ligue des droits de l'homme et du citoyen" arranged a meeting in Paris, "for the Egyptian people", in which, among others, Wāṣif Butrus Ghālī, a Copt, made a long speech. In it he thanked the French, mentioned Great Britain's unfulfilled pledges of evacuation from Egypt, and explained at length the aims of the Wafd, of which he was a member, praising the political union of the Egyptians, regardless of religion. All the speeches at this meeting were published in Paris, in 1920, in a booklet by Gabriel Séailles, A. Aulard, Victor Marguerite, and Wacyf Boutros Ghali, called "Pour le peuple égyptien".

The Wafd contacted many of the Egyptians living in France, too. Most of these took an active part in explaining to the French the aims and demands of the Wafd, in private meetings as well as in public lectures and banquets. The greatest amount of propaganda was done by the Egyptian association (Al-jam'īya al misriya) in Paris⁴⁸⁷

and by similar bodies in Nancy and Lyon⁴⁸⁸.

The members of the Egyptian association published a whole collection of documents⁴⁸⁹. About half of this book is full of documents, illustrating the activities of the Wafd: letters, telegrams, notes of protest, memoranda of the Wafd to various statesmen and representative institutions are copied or translated, often in extenso⁴⁹⁰.

The Egyptian associations in Great Britain and in Paris were by no means the only ones which supported the campaign for Egyptian independence. By special convocation of the Egyptian association of Paris, forty representatives of all the Egyptian associations in Europe met in Paris in 1920⁴⁹¹.

488.

Orient et Occident, No.1, Jan.1922, p.135.

489.

"Documents diplomatiques concernant l'Egypte de Mehemet-Ali jusqu'en 1920".

490.

On the general activities of the Wafd in Paris see Ahmad Shafiq, "Ḥauliyāt", Tamhīd, vol.I, pp.396 ss. and passim. 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, "Sa'd Zaghlūl, etc." passim, esp. pp.207 ss.

491.

Possibly they were some of those Egyptians — mainly students — who afterwards arranged demonstrations in Berlin, Vienna and elsewhere. See Orient et Occident, No.1, Jan.1922, p.135; *ibid.*, No.2, Feb.1922, p.293.

They studied and discussed the proposals elaborated by Milner and submitted to the Egyptian delegation at the time of the London negotiations. This congress rejected unanimously the Milner proposals, mainly because it considered that they gave Egypt only a nominal independence, as the military occupation, the interference of Great Britain in the internal government of Egypt, and the possibility of Great Britain forcing Egypt to enter a war on her side, still remained⁴⁹².

In November, 1922, the Wafd, with the approval and help of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, presented to the Conference of Lausanne a memorandum re-asserting the right of Egypt to independence. Ḥasīb Pasha signed for Zaghlūl. There were four parts in the memorandum:

1. The juridical status of Egypt since 1840 was described, stressing that only an international agreement could change the Convention of London, which granted to Egypt internal autonomy — confirmed by subsequent firmans — verging on independence. Great Britain occupied Egypt and maintained her hold on it in defiance of all international treaties and of the declarations of British statesmen.

⁴⁹²
492.

Text of the resolution see in Kampffmeyer, op. cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp. 22-23.

M.S.O.S.

2. All the points which Great Britain "reserved" for herself were unjustified by the real conditions of things and attacked Egypt's sovereignty, both internally and externally. All Great Britain's pretexts were actuated by the desire to keep Egypt under British tutelage.

3. Contrary to the arguments of the British Government, foreign capital in Egypt was not in danger, as Egypt was in a very good financial condition.

4. The Sudan had always been part of Egypt, and, because of the Nile, was still the source of life for Egypt.

In conclusion, the memorandum stated that the Egyptians were bent on obtaining their independence and demanded from the Conference:

- (a) Recognition of the complete independence of the Nile Valley (Egypt and Sudan).
- (b) Evacuation of all the English troops from the Nile Valley.
- (c) Continuation of the effective neutrality of the Suez Canal⁴⁹³.

493.

Ahmad Shafiq, "Ḥawliyyāt", Tamhīd, vol.III, pp.297 ss., pp.368 ss. M.G. [Michelangelo Guidi], in Oriente Moderno, vol.II, 1922-1923, pp.498 - 502; cf. ibid., pp.502-503, 514, 558, 618-613. Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, p.34. Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", p.240. See also Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.52-55, for the general attitude of the Egyptian parties to the Lausanne Conference.

The Wafd had never recognised the 1922 Declaration of Independence, as it considered its reservations repugnant. As the 1923 Egyptian Constitution was a consequence of this Declaration, the Wafd opposed it too, mainly on the following grounds:

- 1) That the Constitution had not been formulated by the representatives of the nation.
- 2) That all reference to the boundaries of Egypt and the unity of the Nile Valley had been omitted.
- 3) That Egypt was not more independent under the new Constitution than under the Protectorate⁴⁹⁴.

Curiously enough, the Wafd participated eagerly in the first elections held under this constitution and was its staunchest defender when the Palace circles tried to substitute less liberal constitutions for it. Zaghlūl and his followers took the 1923 elections very seriously, organised their propaganda thoroughly in the towns and

494.

Royal Institute of International Affairs,
"Memorandum on a study for the working of democratic institutions of government in Egypt", pp.6-7. About the opposition to the new electoral law see Kampffmeyer, op.cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp.30-31.

villages, and, thanks to good organisation, won the elections, the supporters of the Wafd getting 188 seats against 27 for all other parties in the Chamber of Deputies⁴⁹⁵.

The Zaghlūl Government laid only few internal projects before the 1924 Parliament. Amīn Yūsuf, one of Zaghlūl's close collaborators, tells us that Zaghlūl had diverse reform projects in his mind, mainly improvements in education, justice, and taxation⁴⁹⁶. Whether true or imaginary, these projected reforms were not carried out, because of the resignation of Zaghlūl's Cabinet after the murder of Sir Lee Stack. On the whole, the first tenure of office of the Wafd was characterised

495.

Oriente Moderno, vol.III, 1923, pp.247-248, 313; *ibid.*, vol.IV, 1924, pp.121-125. Ahmad Shafīq, "Haulīyāt", Al-haulīya al-ūlā, vol.I, pp.13 ss. Klingmüller, *op.cit.*, pp.46, 60-63. W. Hayter, "Recent constitutional developments in Egypt," pp.44-45. Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism", pp.85-86. P. Arminjon, *op.cit.*, in *Revue de Paris*, June 1, 1929, pp.579-581. See also above, footnote 157.

496.

Amine Youssef, *op.cit.*, pp.123-126.

by a strong interest in foreign affairs (mostly Egypt's relations with Great Britain) to the detriment of any constructive policy for internal reforms⁴⁹⁷.

When the Wafd was created, it soon assumed the character of a national union of personalities leading a popular movement for independence. It was more like an organisation designed to fight for independence than a political party with a set programme and fixed aims. After the failure of the Milner-Zaghlūl negotiations some important members left the Wafd, considering that Egypt's interest demanded the acceptance of the points which Great Britain was already willing to concede.

But nothing was more harmful for the Wafd than to remain inactive. Conscious of that, its leaders tried to give it an activist character throughout.

497.

Id., *ibid.*, pp.129-131. Ahmad Shafīq, "Ḥauliyāt", *Al-ḥaulīya al-ūlā*, vol.I, pp.30 ss., 506ss., and *passim*. Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Memorandum on a study of the working of democratic institutions of government in Egypt", p.11. Ransome, *op.cit.*, in the Manchester Guardian, Mar.31, 1925, p.12, col.1-2. See also E.P. MacCallum, "The Near East", p.7, for Zaghlūl's Parliamentary career after 1924.

Thanks to this activism and to good organisation, the Wafd succeeded in uniting the great majority of the Egyptians, irrespective of religious or social differences, in an opposition-front directed against the British⁴⁹⁸.

The main service of the Wafd to Egypt was, first, the creation of a united political front, which cut across the boundaries of religion and class; and, second, the popularisation of the patriotic ideal among a people which had hitherto been almost wholly apathetic.

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498.

For the sympathetic attitude of the Wafd towards other states, like France, cf. A. A. Wilson, "Constitutional tendencies in eastern countries", in *The English Review*, May, 1932, pp.14-15.

CH. VII. MINOR PARTIES IN THE POST-WAR YEARS.

1. Al-ahrār al-dustūriyūn.

Though public opinion was far from being a decisive factor in the political life of Egypt after World War I⁴⁹⁹, it still grew in importance under the influence of the Press⁵⁰⁰ and of the Wafd's agitation. This increase in the importance of public opinion in Egypt, together with the propaganda of the Press, raised new issues which were the immediate cause of the creation of other political parties besides Al-hizb al-waṭanī and the Wafd.

The rivalry between Zaghlūl and 'Adlī Pasha⁵⁰¹ was of long standing, though it had not always been open. It is unknown exactly how matters came to a head, but on October 29-30, 1922, more than 250 persons met at

499.

See for diverse opinions in this matter Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., pp.224; cf. ibid., pp.214-233.

500.

Centre d'études de politique étrangère, "L'Égypte indépendante", pp.34-35.

501.

For a biographical notice on the life and work of 'Adlī Yegen Pasha see Zakī Fahmī, op.cit., pp.162-166. More information is available in Ahmad Shafīq, "Hauliyat", passim.

Shepherd's Hotel in Cairo to form a new political party under the leadership of 'Adlī Pasha. Besides him, those present included personages like Aḥmad Ḥishmat Pasha, an ex-Minister; al-Sayīd 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī, head of the religious Muslim confraternities in Egypt; al-Shaikh Muḥammad Bakḥīt, formerly Grand Mufti in Egypt; Ḥasan 'Abd al-Razzāq Pasha, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Makabbātī Bey; Ibrāhīm al-Hilbāwī Bey, Shari'ī Pasha; Ṣāliḥ Pasha Lamṭūm, exponent of the Bedouin element; Taufīq Daus Bey; and others.

'Adlī Pasha gave the inaugural speech; after him al-Sayīd 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī and Muḥammad Bakḥīt spoke briefly. Then Muḥammad Maḥmūd Pasha read the "principles" of the new party, which was to be named "Ḥizb al-aḥrār al-dusturiyīn" (The Party of constitutional liberals). Then the statutes of the party were read and an Administrative Board, numbering thirty members, was elected. According to the statutes of the Party, this Board was to be elected every three years by the general assembly of the Party, and was expected to elect, from among its members, a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer. It had been expected that a daily paper named Al-zamān

would be the organ of the Constitutional liberals⁵⁰²,
but the new Al-siyāsa was chosen instead⁵⁰³.

The activities of the Constitutional liberals, in the period with which the present work is concerned, were not very remarkable or very successful. On February 24, 1923, the party arranged a large meeting, under the presidency of 'Adlī Pasha, who delivered a long speech in which he explained his reasons for declining the offer of the King to form a Cabinet.

'Adlī expressed his opinion on the great necessity of reaching an agreement between the different parties; he addressed this remark mainly to the Press, which he

502.

The Cairene weekly, *La Revue Egyptienne*, Aug. 27, 1922, quoted by E.G. [=Eugenio Griffini] in *Oriente Moderno*, vol. II, 1922-1923, p. 251.

503.

Aḥmad Shafīq, "*Ḥaulīyāt*", *Tamhīd*, vol. III, pp. 325-337. Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism in the Hither East," p. 83. The Parisian monthly "*France-Islam*", First year, No. 1, Jan. 1923, pp. 32-33. *Al-muqattam*, Oct. 31, 1922, quoted by N. [=C.A. Nallino], in *Oriente Moderno*, vol. II, 1922-1923, p. 388. M.M. Moreno, op. cit., *ibid.*, vol. V, 1925, pp. 226-227.

considered should further the cause of national unity. Then the meeting approved the policy and actions of 'Adli'.⁵⁰⁴

At the Parliamentary elections in the latter part of the year 1923, the Constitutional Liberals published manifestoes and arranged meetings, but it was a foregone conclusion that they did not have the support of the masses, neither urban nor rural⁵⁰⁵. Angry and disappointed at the Constitutional Liberals getting so few seats, their leaders headed the opposition against the Wafd. Notwithstanding the fact that they lacked popular support, the Constitutional Liberals led a vigorous propaganda in their well-edited Al-siyāsa⁵⁰⁶, to which the experienced leaders⁵⁰⁷, and adherents of the party, often contributed⁵⁰⁸.

504.

Arminjon, op.cit., pp.580-581. E.R. [Ettore Rossi] in Oriente Moderno, vol.II, 1922-1923, p.616.

505.

G.T. [Guiseppe Tegani], in Oriente Moderno, vol. III, 1923, p.248, based on the Daily Herald, Aug.7, 1923.

506.

On Al-siyāsa and its importance see M. Guidi, op.cit, pp.146-147.

507.

Two of these, Hasan 'Abd al-Rāzēq Pasha and Ismā'īl Zuhūdī Pasha, were assassinated at the very entrance of the Party's club.

508.

Foulad Yeghen, op.cit., pp.78/81.

Soon afterwards the Constitutional liberals published a strong manifesto, signed by Muḥammad 'Alī Bey, the secretary of the Party. It began by attacking the negotiations of Zaghlūl in London and their failure. While criticising the British Government, the manifesto attacked the Wafd Cabinet, too, because it considered that Zaghlūl had not done all he could to safeguard Egypt's dignity and interests relating to the independence of both Egypt and the Sudan. The nation had the right to ask the Council of Ministers how it meant to correct its previous mistakes. The manifesto ended by calling all Egyptians to unite in the common interest, regardless of personal motives⁵⁰⁹.

The eighteen-paragraph programme of the Constitutional Liberals⁵¹⁰, agreed upon in 1922, was quite progressive. Besides the common demands, of

509.

La Bourse Egyptienne, of Cairo, Oct. 29, 1924, summarized by V.V. [=Virginia Vacca], in Oriente Moderno, vol. IV, 1924, pp. 701-702. For the activities of the Constitutional Liberals in later years see Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Great Britain and Egypt, 1914-1936", App. IV., p. 63; cf. ibid. App. VII, p. 67.

510.

Arabic text in Aḥmad Shafīq, "Ḥawāliyyāt", Tamhīd, vol. III, pp. 335-337. Italian translation by N. [=C.A. Nallino], in Oriente Moderno, vol. II, 1922-1923, p. 389. See also Orient et Occident, No. 11, Nov. 1922, p. 395.

independence and the inseparability of Egypt and the Sudan (p 1), the party demanded constitutional progress (pp 3 - 4); personal rights (p 5); combat of illiteracy, among men and women alike (p 7); improvements in the hygienic (p 8) and financial conditions (pp 9-10) of the country; free commerce (p 11); improvements in agriculture and irrigation (p 12), industry (p 13), transport (p 14); and exploitation of the natural resources (p 17); development of co-operative societies (p 15); and the enforcement of just regulations of the relations between employers and employees (p 18).

This programme brings nothing new in political orientation. Having a positive attitude towards the Palace, it still demanded the independence and sovereignty of Egypt in strong terms. It was intended to satisfy diverse social elements and, in so doing, enunciated a programme of progressive social, educational and economic reforms⁵¹¹.

511.

Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism", p.83. Klingmüller, op.cit., pp.51-52. Moreno, op.cit., in Oriente Moderno, vol. V, 1925, p.227.

This all-embracing programme was not the only one which the Constitutional Liberals had. Like other parties in Egypt and elsewhere, the Constitutional Liberals published shorter programmes to suit various occasions. For example, in its above-mentioned meeting of February 24, 1923, the Party voted a programme of demands which any Egyptian Ministry might be expected to fulfil, namely: work for the inseparability of the Sudan from Egypt; promulgation of the complete statutes of the constitution; immediate abolition of martial law, and the liberation of political prisoners and exiles; adoption of a policy of unity⁵¹².

For the Parliamentary elections of 1923, the Constitutional Liberals presented, however, quite a different programme. Enunciated by 'Adlī and published in Al-siyāsa, it contained seven main points:

512.

Arminjon, op.cit., pp.580-581. E.R. [=Ettore Rossi], in Oriente Moderno, vol. II, 1922-1923, p.616.

1. Complete independence with no foreign interference in the internal and external affairs of Egypt.
2. No military occupation of Egypt.
3. No arrangement of the Sudan problem which does not bring Egypt's vital interest into account.
4. Negotiations between Egypt and the interested powers about the Capitulations.
5. Immediate appointment of Egyptian diplomatic representatives in foreign countries.
6. Entrance of Egypt into the League of Nations.
7. The disappearance of all political differences, in order to present a united front for the request of the above-mentioned demands⁵¹³.

These aims were different from those enunciated formerly in that the later ones were wholly devoted to issues of foreign policy and to the relations of Egypt with the Powers.

513.

The Near East, Aug. 23, 1923, summarised by G.T.
[=Giuseppe Tegani], in Oriente Moderno, vol. III, 1923,
pp. 247-248.

The Party of Constitutional Liberals, as reflected to a certain extent in its programmes, was a grouping of the upper bourgeoisie. The Party numbered among its adherents some of the wealthiest people and richest landowners in Egypt, on one hand; on the other, some members of the aristocracy with a few scions of the Turkish families. Thus the Party had connections with the Palace and was prepared to work with the King; it was also not averse to coming to a favourable agreement with Great Britain⁵¹⁴.

514.

W. Hayter, op.cit., pp.44-45. A.J. Toynbee, op.cit., pp.193-194. W.E. Hocking, op.cit., pp.58-59. Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism in the Hither East", p.83. Newman, "Great Britain in Egypt", pp.239-240. Centre d'études de politique étrangère, "L'Egypte indépendante", pp.30-31. Diaeddine Saleh, op.cit., p.189.

2. Hizb al-ittihād.

Another political party, "Hizb al-ittihād" (the Union Party), was formed on January 10, 1925. It was inspired by the Royal Court and founded by a palace official named Nash'at Pasha. Its president was Yahyā Ibrāhīm Pasha, a former Prime Minister and the very person who had presided over the commission appointed to draft the 1923 Constitution; he was also in close touch with the King.

This party, which numbered few adherents, derived its support almost exclusively from the King and the Palace. Though it succeeded in winning over some Wafd members to its side in the 1925 Parliamentary elections, the number of its adherents was still very limited. Hizb al-ittihād served the King by aiding him to govern by royal decree instead of ruling by parliamentary government⁵¹⁵. Otherwise its role was insignificant and did not leave any important mark in the political life of Egypt.

515.

Oriente Moderno, vol. V, 1925, pp. 227-228. 'Attāra, op. cit., p. 194; cf. ibid., pp. 213-215, 217-219, 221, 349. 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, "Sa'd Zaghlūl, etc.", pp. 469, 476. A. J. Toynbee, op. cit., pp. 226-227. Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Great Britain and Egypt, 1914-1936", p. 19; cf. ibid., p. 20; ibid., App. VII, p. 66. Marshall, "The Egyptian enigma, 1890-1928", pp. 277-278. Hocking, op. cit., pp. 57-59. Kohn, "Nationalism and imperialism", p. 83; ibid., p. 284, n. 42. Magd El Din Nassif, op. cit., pp. 26-27. Diaeddine Saleh, op. cit., p. 261. Arminjon, op. cit., p. 586.

The Egyptian political parties after the First World War, though of diverse composition and unequal strength, had considerable funds at their disposal, and newspapers preaching their cause. Indeed, the vernacular Press played a larger and more important role in party warfare than ever before. This propaganda often reached its peak during election time, as was the case in other countries, too.

The striking effect of all the press propaganda, manifestoes and speeches is that — notwithstanding the official programmes of the parties — they all were concerned with Egypt's foreign affairs, and mostly with the relations between their country and Great Britain. To the detriment of internal problems (social, economic, and educational reforms), the political parties were preoccupied with the antagonism between Great Britain and Egypt. Even the constitutional question was more often than not regarded in the light of a foreign affair, viz., the way in which the provisos of the constitution reflected on Egyptian independence.

Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, the Wafd, the Constitutional Liberals, and Ḥizb al-ittihād, declared in not dissimilar ways that they were heart and soul for the achievement of Egyptian independence and the reduction of foreign

interference in Egypt's affairs. But the methods which those parties employed, or desired to employ, were different: those of the first two were radical, those of the third were to meet the British half way, while those of the last were more than conciliatory.

As to the political orientation of these Parties, it was remarkable how similar it remained, in comparison with the political situation preceding World War I. The Parties favourable to the Occupation had completely disappeared, for its time seemed past. Al-ḥizb al-waṭani, most important before the First World War, was reduced to little more than a cypher after that war. Its place was taken by the Wafd, which adopted most of its watchwords, mainly the anti-British slogans and the 'union of all Egyptians', regardless of religion, in a struggle for the complete independence of Egypt.

Instead of Ḥizb al-iṣṭāḥ 'alā'l-mabādi' al-dustūrīya, openly favourable to the occupation of the throne and to Islam and covertly quite friendly towards Great Britain, Ḥizb al-aḥrār al-dustūrīyīn preached much the same ideas. In 1908 the Khedive, dissatisfied with the attitude of Ḥizb al-iṣṭāḥ 'alā'l-mabādi' al-dustūrīya, had inspired the formation of a

Party of Nobles, small in number, but utterly loyal to him. In 1925, much the same happened again: the King, displeased at the lukewarm attitude of Hizb al-aḥrār al-dustūriyīn towards him at times, inspired the foundation of Hizb al-ittihād, counting only few adherents, but completely faithful to the King. Little had changed in the orientation of the Egyptian political parties in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

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CONCLUSION.

It has been shown how the Assembly of Delegates, from the time of its formation during the rule of Ismā'īl, though mainly concerned with those matters of greatest personal bearing, as agriculture, taxation, etc., still gave growing expression to demands for a larger share in the administration of the Country. This demand was coloured by the social prejudices of the body, and under the influence of the general political atmosphere of unrest. The course of this growing articulateness was halted by the Occupation and, for a few years, the Legislative Council and General Assembly remained the only semi-parliamentary institutions. They were mostly quiescent, and the religious element in them was very pronounced. As it got weaker, and the tide of patriotism rose in Egypt, these bodies became more experienced and assumed a more daring attitude. Their clamour for wider powers was met in a modest way, by the creation of the Legislative Assembly. This was based on a somewhat truer representation, and gave opportunity to men like Sa'd Zaghlūl to voice the complaints and desires of Egypt. However, the advance of parliamentarism in Egypt was halted for the second time

by the First World War. But, though the Legislative Assembly was not convoked under martial law, the feeling of nationalism was by then too strong to die out and, when the war ended, a popular rising brought about the convention of another Parliament, with much wider powers.

Though all these bodies, from 1866 to 1924, tried to assume a European character, this was never more superficial. With the exception of the 1924 Parliament, they were chiefly composed of reputable landowners, who were mainly interested in those matters which affected them personally. It was men of this type who usually had the final say, except when outside agitation was strong enough to give effectual support to that minority who wanted to pass measures of a general national character.

Political agitation, expressed in the Press, grew concurrently with the slow, gradual, growth of public opinion. The effect of this public opinion was not to be felt until after the First World War, but its existence, in a limited way, was obvious even before that time. More and more did the parliamentary institutions have to reckon with it, as in the case of the debates and decision on the project for the extension of the Suez Canal Concession, in 1910.

The part played by the Press, not only in expressing public opinion in Egypt, but also in moulding it, was considerable and, with the advance of literacy, assumed even greater proportions. Its influence on the political parties, however, is more evident than that exercised over the parliamentary institutions.

My work has studied the early development of the political parties, and the influence on them of such factors, hitherto neglected, as the secret societies and the intrigues and activities within the Ruling House itself. All the Egyptian political parties, whether in the days of 'Urābī or Kāmil or in the early post-war years, centred around a newspaper which was not only the voice, but also the brain of the Party.

The parties were generally small (women had no active role), and were more attached to a certain personality — whose abilities decided its fate — than to an ideal. Though often proclaimed, there seems to have been hardly any real organisation on European lines. Even Kāmil's Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī and, possibly, the Waḍd were not quite so well organised as they pretended, and relied more on popular sentiment than on an efficient party discipline. It is noticeable that contemporary Arabic literature, though making frequent mention of the

political parties and their activities, hardly ever refer to their organisation.

With the exception of 'Urābī's National Party, Kāmil's Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī, and Zaghlūl's Wafd, all other political parties were more so in name than in fact, and were rather an instrument for the furtherance of private ambitions or group interests. As regards the three major parties, they all began as popular patriotic movements. The anti-foreign movement of 'Urābī's days was crushed before his National Party (which certainly existed in a form of loose association) had had sufficient time to organise itself solidly. Kāmil moulded the existing dissatisfaction with the Occupation into a Party which was to have an organisation of European type; however, his untimely death interrupted these plans. Lastly, Zaghlūl organised the Wafd to lead and express the popular desire for full independence. It must be remembered that until 1924 the Wafd did not regard itself as a political party, but rather as the agent of the popular will. When it was ultimately obliged to appear in the lists as a Party, it was because of the responsibility it felt for the enormous confidence entrusted in it by the Egyptian people. Moreover, the growth of representation made the parliamentary sphere the logical arena for its activities.

The touchstone of difference between the political parties in Egypt was not social, because the components of these parties represented all classes and most occupations; nor was it in the propaganda they employed, which was as a technique common to all, varying only in fierceness and effectiveness. The actual, immediate, grievances of the people were exploited to the utmost but there was no sincere attempt to instruct them in a constructive, long-term policy.

The real difference lay, firstly, in their attitude towards Great Britain and the extent to which they supported or attacked it: even internal problems were considered, until about 1922, in the light of Egypt's relations with Great Britain. Secondly, Egyptian parties differed from one another in their approach to Islam (in early years — in their attitude to Pan-Islamism, also). While most parties had a large Muslim majority and some prejudice towards Islam, Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī tried, and the Wafd succeeded (at least for some years), in minimising the importance of the religious differences among their following.

App. 1.

Statut du Gouvernement Constitutionnel, en date
de novembre 1866 (redjeb 1283).

1. L'assemblée aura pour mission de délibérer sur les intérêts intérieurs du pays; elle aura également à se prononcer sur les projets que le Gouvernement croira relever de ses attributions, et au sujet desquels, elle donnera son opinion qui sera soumise à l'approbation de Son Altesse le Vice-Roi.
2. Tout individu âgé d'au moins vingt-cinq ans sera éligible, à condition d'être honnête, loyal, capable, et reconnu par le Gouvernement comme étant né dans le pays.
3. Ne pourra être élu tout individu dont les biens se trouveraient sequestrés, par décret, à la suite de faillite, à moins pourtant d'une réhabilitation régulière et complète; ne pourra non plus être élu tout individu n'ayant aucun moyen d'existence, ou qui, dans l'année qui précédera son élection, aurait reçu des secours; qui aurait subi une peine infamante ou qui aurait été renvoyé du service d'après une sentence.
4. Les électeurs seront choisis parmi les habitants dont les biens n'auront pas été séquestrés pour cause de faillite ou qui auront été réhabilités

s'ils avaient été déclarés faillis; qui n'auront jamais subi de peine infamante; qui n'auront pas été renvoyés du service, et qui enfin ne se trouveront pas en activité dans l'armée.

5. Ne peuvent être élus tous ceux qui sont au service du Gouvernement tout notables et principaux des villages, que ceux qui sont au service de quelqu'un; sont dans le même cas ceux qui sont au service militaire, soit en activité, soit dans la réserve. Par contre, pourront être élus tout employé ayant abandonné le service du Gouvernement sans motif reprehensible, et tout militaire dont le temps fixé dans les cadres de réserve sera expiré, pourvu toutefois qu'ils réunissent les conditions ci-dessus mentionnées.

6. L'élection des membres de cette Assemblée doit avoir lieu dans les provinces en considération de la population, il y aura à élire dans chaque arrondissement une ou deux personnes, suivant le nombre des habitants. Mais au Caire on aura à nommer trois représentants, à Alexandrie deux, et à Damiette un seul.

7. Chaque village se réunissant et choisissant ses cheikhs, ces derniers auront naturellement le droit d'élire au nom des populations, pourvu qu'ils soient dans les conditions voulues.

App.1. (Suite)

Ces cheikhs se réuniront à la préfecture; chacun écrira, sur un bulletin qui devra être tenu secret et fermé, le nom de celui pour lequel il croira devoir voter, et déposera ce bulletin dans l'urne électorale de son arrondissement.

8. Le dépouillement du scrutin, après le vote des cheikhs aura lieu en présence du moudir, de son wékil, du chef du bureau du contentieux et du cadi de la préfecture. Le candidat qui réunira la majorité des voix sera nommé représentant de son arrondissement; dans les cas où les votes seraient partagés également entre deux candidats, on aura recours au tirage au sort en leur présence; celui que le sort aura favorisé sera nommé représentant. Dans les deux cas, les cheikhs présents devront signer un procès-verbal constatant le résultat de l'élection. Dans les villes du Caire, de Damiette et d'Alexandrie l'élection des représentants aura lieu à la majorité des voix des notables de ces trois villes.

9. Le mandat de député expirant au bout de trois années, il sera procédé, après ce laps de temps, à l'élection de nouveaux membres d'après le mode établi dans les articles 7 et 8.

App. 1. (Suite)

10. Les membres de l'Assemblée ne pourront pas dépasser le nombre de 75.

11. La présence des deux tiers des membres est nécessaire pour que l'Assemblée puisse siéger et délibérer. Dans le cas où l'un des membres ne pourrait se rendre à l'Assemblée pour quelque motif sérieux, il devra, un mois avant l'ouverture de la session, en prévenir le Président, et si l'Assemblée ne juge pas le motif d'absence suffisant, elle l'en fera prévenir; enfin, si le membre absent persiste à ne pas venir siéger à son poste, il sera pourvu à son remplacement par l'élection d'un autre représentant par sa localité et d'après le mode prescrit.

12. Les membres devront siéger en personne et ne pourront en aucun cas se faire représenter.

13. Aussitôt que l'Assemblée sera réunie, une commission sera nommée parmi les membres, qui procédera à la vérification des élections et s'assurera que toutes les conditions voulues ont été observées pour chacun des membres élus. Ceux qui seront reconnus comme réunissant ces diverses conditions seront définitivement acceptés; ceux qui n'auraient pas toutes les qualités exigées seront remplacés la manière indiquée.

App.1. (Suite).

14. Après cette vérification, la commission se prononcera sur la validité des élections de chacun des membres, fera son rapport au Président qui, de son côté, le soumettra à son Altesse, afin que chacun reçoive ensuite un décret personnel constatant sa qualité de représentant pour trois années.

15. Un règlement fixant les limites des pouvoirs, ainsi que les règles à suivre dans les délibérations, sera remis à l'Assemblée, de même qu'il est d'usage de le faire en pareille circonstance.

16. L'Assemblée se réunira cette année le 10 du mois hatour (18 novembre 1866), pour siéger jusqu'au 10 du mois de touba (17 janvier 1867); mais les années suivantes, la session s'ouvrira le 15 kiahk (23 décembre), pour finir le 15 amchir (21 février).

17. Le Vice-Roi convoque, ajourne, proroge et dissout l'Assemblée. Le Vice-Roi fera connaître l'époque où il en sera convoqué une nouvelle dans un délai déterminé.

18. Les membres de l'Assemblée ne devront en aucun cas recevoir des petitions.

App. 2.Loi déterminant les attributions de la Chambre des
Délégués.

1. La Chambre des députés aura son siège
au Caire.
2. La mission de la Chambre des députés est
de délibérer sur les question d'une utilité intérieure;
elle émettra également son avis sur les projets que le
Gouvernement lui soumettra ainsi qu'il est dit à l'article
1^{er} de la loi constitutive. La Chambre renverra aux
bureaux et aux commissions nommés dans son sein toutes
les questions d'une utilité intérieure, pour y être
étudiées; elle entendra leurs rapports, les discutera
et les communiquera, avec sa délibération au Conseil
privé, ainsi qu'il est dit, en ce qui concerne les
projets du Gouvernement, à l'article 16 et suivants.
Toutes les décisions de la Chambre seront soumises au
Khédive.
3. Le Khédive nommera le Président et le
Vice-Président de la Chambre.
4. Le Khédive ouvrira la Chambre en personne,
ou déléguera à cet effet un fonctionnaire par un iradé
vice-royal.

Si le Khédive ouvre la Chambre en personne, le discours sera lu par Son Altesse ou par la personne qu'elle désignera; mais si l'ouverture de la Chambre est faite par le fonctionnaire délégué, le discours, soit qu'il émane du Khédive ou du délégué, sera lu par ce dernier.

5. Après l'ouverture de la Chambre et la lecture du discours khédivial, la Chambre pourra présenter dans les deux jours suivants une adresse en réponse sans qu'elle puisse y traiter d'une manière décisive aucune questions dont elle doit s'occuper.

6. Si le discours émane du Khédive, le Président de la Chambre, accompagné de deux membres de chaque bureau nommés pour tous leurs collègues, présentera la réponse au Khédive. Les membres de cette députation devront être en uniforme.

7. Si les électeurs nomment des députés qui ne réunissent pas les conditions requises par les articles 2, 3, et 5 de la loi constitutive, la MoMdirieh, en conformité de l'article 13 de la loi susdite, en informera l'Inspecteur général, lequel, à son tour, transmettra une liste de ces députés au Président de la Chambre pour faire l'application de l'article 13 précité.

8. Après l'ouverture de la Chambre et la lecture du discours khédivial, la Chambre se divisera en cinq bureaux. Les membres et le Président composant chaque bureau seront nommés par leurs collègues. Ces bureaux vérifieront les pouvoirs de chaque député, aux termes de l'article 13 de la loi constitutive, c'est-à-dire chaque bureau vérifiera les pouvoirs des députés composant un autre bureau et ainsi de suite. Ils remettront ensuite leurs rapports au Président de la Chambre pour les soumettre au Khédive, conformément à l'article 14 de la loi susdite.

9. Après entière vérification des élections, si le nombre des députés dont l'élection est validée, est suffisant pour convoquer la Chambre, aux termes de l'article 11 de la loi constitutive, le Président est tenu d'en référer au Khédive sans attendre la solution des élections contestées.

10. Le Khédive donnera un numéro d'ordre aux questions soumises à l'examen de la Chambre. Il sera tenu un registre où seront consignées ces affaires d'une manière sommaire, avec les dates de leur réception, leur numéro d'ordre et la suite donnée à chacune d'elles.

11. Si le fonctionnaire délégué par le Gouvernement pour discuter un des projets soumis à la Chambre demande à parler, la parole lui sera accordée, sans qu'il soit forcé d'attendre son tour.

App.2.

12. La Chambre des Députés a le droit d'intimer à qui que ce soit de comparaître par devant elle et d'infliger des peines en cas de refus, à moins qu'un empêchement légitime ne retienne la personne citée. Le Président de chaque bureau remettra tous les matins au Président de la Chambre une liste des membres présents et absents.

13. Toute séance qui ne réunit pas le nombre de membres indiqué à l'article 11 de la loi constitutive sera renvoyée au jour suivant.

14. Si la Chambre ne réunit pas le nombre suffisant aux termes de l'article 11 de la loi constitutive, mais qu'un ou quelques-uns de ses bureaux se trouve réuni aux deux tiers proportionnellement au nombre des membres composant chaque bureau, le bureau trouvé dans ces conditions pourra fonctionner et poursuivre l'examen des affaires qui lui sont confiées.

15. Le Président ordonne l'ouverture et la levée de chaque séance. Il doit, à la fin de chaque séance et après s'être concerté avec les membres, fixer l'heure de l'ouverture de la prochaine séance, établir l'ordre du jour, l'afficher dans la salle, en communiquer immédiatement copie au chef du cabinet

App.2.

du Khédive et lui donner sans retard tous les renseignements nécessaires.

16. Les projets du Gouvernement seront lus à la Chambre par un fonctionnaire délégué du Gouvernement.

17. Après lecture de ces projets, des exemplaires imprimés en seront distribués aux bureaux pour y être examinés. Les bureaux réunis éliront au scrutin secret une commission composée de cinq membres pour étudier ces projets et préparer le rapport y relatif.

18. Si un des membres qui ne fait pas partie de la commission nommée suivant l'article précédent émet, sur une des questions présentées par le Gouvernement, un avis qui n'a pas trait aux observations dont il est parlé à l'article 23 de cette loi, le Président fera parvenir cet avis à la commission. Tout avis émis au sujet de ces mêmes questions après que la commission aura déposé son rapport devant la Chambre sera écarté. Toutefois ce rapport, une fois lu devant la Chambre, sera discuté et mis aux voix aux termes des articles 20, 21 et 22 de la présente loi.

App. 2.

19. Tout député qui aura émis un avis sur l'une des questions dont il est parlé à l'article précédent a le droit de prendre la parole devant la commission commise à cet effet.

20. Le rapport de la commission doit être lu et distribué, imprimé, à la Chambre, vingt-quatre heures au moins avant d'être discuté.

21. Quand le tour du rapport viendra à l'ordre du jour de la Chambre, les débats seront engagés, mais précédés d'une discussion première du projet en général et de chaque question en particulier.

22. Chacune des questions composant ce projet sera mise aux voix et suivie d'un vote sur l'ensemble du projet même.

23. Si la commission chargée d'étudier un des projets envoyés par le Gouvernement émet des observations touchant ce même projet, ces observations seront remises au Président, qui les adressera au Gouvernement avant d'en donner communication à la Chambre.

24. Les questions d'utilité intérieure venant en ordre de discussion, aux termes de l'article 15 précité, seront au préalable mises séparément aux voix pour savoir si elles doivent être examinées immédiatement ou ajournées.

25. Les questions désignées à la fin de chaque séance pour être portées à l'ordre du jour de la prochaine séance, ainsi qu'il est dit à l'article 15 de la présente loi, seront, avant d'être discutées, mises séparément aux voix pour avoir au préalable l'avis de la Chambre sur l'inopportunité de chacune d'elles.

App. 2.

~~aux voix pour savoir si elles doivent être examinées
immédiatement ou ajournées.~~

26. Si deux députés demandent la parole à la fois, le président tirera au sort.

27. Quand la discussion roule à la Chambre sur une question, la discussion ne pourra pas être engagée sur une autre.

28. Aucun député ne pourra prendre la parole dans une question avant que celui qui le précède ait fini de parler.

29. Il n'est permis à aucun député de parler plus d'une fois à la Chambre sur une même question, à moins que le membre qui aura parlé ne soit invité par un autre membre à donner des explications ou à lui répondre. Dans les commissions nommées au sein de la Chambre, tout membre a le droit de parler quand il voudra.

30. Aucun membre de la Chambre ne peut prendre la parole que quand le Président l'y autorise, sur sa demande. Il ne pourra parler que de sa place.

31. Si le Président veut parler, la Chambre doit l'écouter.

32. Les votes seront retirés de l'urne et dépouillés ouvertement. Ils doivent réunir une majorité absolue.

App. 2.

33. Le dépouillement de l'urne sera fait par le secrétaire.

34. Les votes ne seront pas valables si les deux tiers des membres de la Chambre ne sont pas présents (Art. 11 de la loi constitutive de la Chambre).

35. La Chambre doit respecter le droit de la minorité dans les discussions et écouter ses observations.

36. Si le nombre des membres votants est inférieur à celui des membres abstenants, le Président doit inviter ces derniers à émettre leur vote sur la question qui leur est soumise.

37. Le Président de la Chambre remplit les fonctions de président. Il ne pourra voter qu'en cas de partage égal de voix. Indépendamment de cela, il n'a à émettre aucun vote ni à prendre part à aucune discussion.

38. Quand la Chambre vote une question, la décision y relative sera consignée dans un registre spécial et cacheté par le Président et les membres. Une copie de cette décision portant la signature du Secrétaire et le cachet du Président sera présentée au Khédive.

39. Les heures de travail de la Chambre seront réglées par le Président d'accord avec les membres.

App. 2.

40. Les députés devront se rendre à la Chambre vêtus convenablement et garder un maintien correct.

41. Aucun député ne pourra s'absenter que sur une autorisation de la Chambre, signée par le Président. Le Président ne peut délivrer d'autorisation sans l'ordre de la Chambre que dans les cas d'urgence, et il doit l'en informer plus tard.

42. Les procès-verbaux de la Chambre doivent contenir les noms des députés qui auront parlé à la Chambre et l'opinion de chacun d'eux sommairement.

43. Les procès-verbaux dont il est parlé à l'article précédent seront consignés dans un registre special. Le dernier procès-verbal sera lu à la prochaine séance par le Secrétaire. Le Président signera chaque soir sur le registre.

44. Les ordres du Khédive relatifs à l'une des prérogatives qui lui sont réservées par l'article 17 de la loi constitutive seront lus immédiatement à la Chambre et mis à exécution.

45. Le rappel des députés à l'ordre appartient au Président.

46. Si l'orateur s'écarte de la question à l'ordre du jour, le Président doit l'inviter à y revenir. Il n'est pas permis au Président de donner la parole à un député pour motiver le rappel à la

App. 2.

question mise aux débats.

47. Il est permis à l'orateur rappelé pour s'être écarté de la question de demander la parole pour s'excuser; mais il n'est pas permis à celui qui a enfreint les règles, de parler d'une autre façon.

48. Si l'orateur rappelé deux fois à l'ordre dans une même question, demande la parole pour s'excuser, le Président doit se concerter avec la Chambre pour lui retirer la parole sur cette même question dans le cours de la séance. Cette défense doit être votée par la Chambre à la majorité des voix.

49. Si l'orateur rappelé deux fois pour s'être écarté de la même question, s'en écarte une troisième fois, le Président doit se concerter avec la Chambre pour lui enlever la parole sur cette même question dans le cours de la séance. Cette défense doit être votée par la Chambre à la majorité des voix.

50. La parole est retirée pendant toute la séance à tout député invité à garder le silence pour avoir interrompu un autre député qui a la parole.

51. Il n'est permis à aucun député d'insulter, à la Chambre, un autre député ni d'accompagner par un signe d'approbation ou de réprobation les paroles prononcées à la Chambre par un de ses membres.

App. 2.

52. Tout député qui trouble l'ordre de la Chambre est rappelé nominativement à l'ordre par le Président; s'il y persiste, le Président ordonne de consigner le rappel à l'ordre dans le procès-verbal de la séance, et si malgré cette dernière mesure, il s'obstine à troubler l'ordre de la Chambre, la Chambre, sur la demande du Président pourra, sans délibérer, prononcer son expulsion de son sein pour un délai qui ne devra pas dépasser quinze jours. Cette condamnation sera notifiée à la circonscription du député expulsé.

53. Pendant les sessions de la Chambre aucun procès-verbal ne pourra être intenté à l'un des membres à moins qu'il n'ait commis un assassinat. Dans ce cas il sera renvoyé de son sein et il sera pourvu à son remplacement aux termes de l'article 10 de la loi constitutive.

54. Aucun membre de la Chambre n'est autorisé à imprimer ni à publier le discours qu'il a prononcé à la Chambre ou les délibérations qui ont eu lieu dans son sein, sans un ordre du Président. En cas d'infraction, une commission prise au sein du bureau dont il fait partie est appelée à se prononcer sur la peine qu'il aura encourue.

App. 2.

55. Si l'un des députés tombe, pendant l'exercice de son mandat, sous l'application d'un des articles 2, 3 et 5 de la loi constitutive, il perd sa qualité de député et sera remplacé aux termes de l'article 13 de la loi susdite.

56. Aucune démission ne saura être acceptée pendant la durée des sessions de la Chambre. Si un des députés veut donner sa démission, il doit la présenter au Président pendant les vacances et trente jours au moins avant la rentrée de la Chambre, pour procéder à temps à l'élection d'un remplaçant aux termes de l'article 13 de la loi constitutive.

57. La police intérieure de la Chambre et des séances appartient au Président.

58. Il est loisible au Président de la Chambre de remettre une des séances de la Chambre au jour suivant, bien que le nombre des députés présents soit suffisant aux termes de l'article 11 de la loi constitutive. Il doit, dans ce cas, en donner immédiatement avis au Khédive.

59. Le Gouvernement enverra à la Chambre un nombre suffisant d'huissiers.

60. L'accès de la Chambre n'est permis qu'aux députés, aux employés attachés à la Chambre et aux personnes déléguées par le Gouvernement pour des

App. 2.

affaires dont la Chambre est saisie. Cette mesure sera observée jusqu'à ce qu'un ordre du Khédive vienne autoriser l'entrée de la Chambre; des cartes d'entrée seront alors délivrées par le Président.

61. Les articles 2,3,4 et 5 de la loi constitutive contiennent les qualités requises tant pour les éligibles que pour les électeurs pour la validité des élections. A la septième période électorale, les députés élus, indépendamment des conditions prescrites plus haut devront savoir lire et écrire. Il en ^{est} de même pour les électeurs à la onzième période électorale.

App. 3.Note on the development of Ministerial
Responsibility.

Muḥammad 'Alī and his descendants ruled Egypt autocratically until 1878. The Viceroy (afterwards called the Khedive) ruled Egypt directly, with the help of some notables placed at the head of the various departments of administration (Dawāwīn) and responsible towards him alone. These heads of the departments, together with other dignitaries, formed the Viceroy's Council, which later developed into a Council of Ministers, which practically performed only the ruler's orders⁵¹⁶. The Prime Ministers, however, gradually acquired some importance⁵¹⁷.

516.

Article on "Ta'rīkh al-sulṭa al-niyābiya fī'l-hukūma al-misriya", in *Al-hilāl*, vol. XVIII, Jan. 1, 1910, pp. 211-212. Al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl", vol. II, pp. 280-281. Kamal Itani, op. cit., p. 110. Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli stati", p. 46.

517.

For an account of the life and activities of some of the Prime Ministers see article on "Ru'asā' al-naẓẓarāt al-misriya", in *Al-muqtaṭaf*, vol. XLIV, May 1, 1914, pp. 417-420. Another article, bearing the same name and giving a list of the Prime Ministers between 1878-1924, their photographs, and the dates of their terms of office, was published *ibid.*, vol. LXVII, July 1, 1925, pp. 186-187.

The Khedive Ismā'īl showed the Powers another proof of his constitutional tendencies in 1878, when he was in a serious financial plight. After some preliminary steps^{518.}, he wrote a letter, carefully couched in French, to Nūbār Pasha, inviting him to form a new Council of Ministers. In this official letter, dated August 28, 1878, the Khedive declared his intention of regulating the administration of Egypt on the lines of the state administration in Europe. He himself desired, instead of personal rule, to govern with and by his Council of Ministers. The members of this Council must be responsible both separately and jointly (solidaires). The Council of Ministers should discuss all the important problems of the country and decide by a majority vote, which has to be ratified by the Khedive. The Ministers may, however, decide separately in matters concerning their respective departments only, like

518.

See F.O. 78/2856, *passim*.

the appointment of clerks (this also required the Khedive's ratification)⁵¹⁹.

This letter, in which a Muslim ruler defined some of the principles of Ministerial solidarity and responsibility to his Armenian Christian Minister, was ^{the} first of its kind in Egypt.⁵²⁰ As in the case of the foundation of the Assembly of Delegates, the powers conferred upon the new Council of Ministers theoretically ~~to~~ ^{be} seem to be large and modelled on the West-European systems of Government. In practice, however, the case was far

519.

Official text in "Affaires étrangères. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Égypte" (Paris, 1880), Raindre's despatch to Waddington, dated Alexandria, Aug. 31, 1878, Annexe No. 1, pp. 119-120. Kampffmeyer, op. cit., M.S.O.S., 1924, part II, pp. 5-6. See also Cromer, "Modern Egypt", vol. I, p. 62. Blunt, "Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt", p. 45. Article "Nūbār Bāshā" in Al-hilāl, vol. VII, Feb. 1, 1899, p. 260. Article "Ta'rikh al-sultā al-niyābiya fī 'l-hukūma al-misriya", ibid., vol. XVIII, Jan. 1, 1910, p. 212. Ahmad Zakī, "Riyād Bāshā", ibid., vol. XX, Feb. 1, 1912, p. 279. Diaeddine Saleh, op. cit., pp. 97-98, partly based on Al-ahrām, July 31, 1938. Morcos Sadek, op. cit., pp. 83-85. Joseph Achkar, op. cit., pp. 121-122. Amin Osman, op. cit., pp. 53-55, 60. Shoukri Nagib, op. cit., pp. 5, 27 ss. Zananiri, op. cit., pp. 161-163. Fawzi Tadros Awad, op. cit., p. 79. Biovès, op. cit., p. 7. Kamal Itani op. cit., pp. 109-110. Muḥammad Sabrī, "Tārikh Miṣr al-ḥadīth min Muḥammad 'Alī ilā 'l-yaum", pp. 158-159.

520.

Muḥammad Sabrī, ibid., p. 159. Morcos Sadek, op. cit., pp. 85-86. P. Crabitès, "Ismail the maligned Khedive," p. 260.

from that, as the Khedive still retained the right to ratify the decisions of this Council. Not less important was the indirect influence which the Khedive could exercise on his Council of Ministers. This was a considerable factor in a country where the prestige of the Khedive's personal rule was high.

Ismā'īl's letter to Nūbār was amplified by a decree dated December 10, 1878⁵²¹. This decree, besides repeating the attributions of the Ministers in their respective departments, charged the President of the Council of Ministers with convoking its meetings, presiding them and communicating to the Khedive all decisions of the Council⁵²². This was a truly noteworthy advance, for up to that time the Khedive generally used to preside himself at the meetings of the Council of Ministers. The decree visibly curtailed the Khedive's opportunities to sway the discussion in the Council of Ministers and force decisions upon it.

521.

The date in Giannini, "Le costituzioni degli Stati", p. 46, should be corrected accordingly.

522.

Text in Diaeddine Saleh, op. cit., Annexes, p. 481; cf. *ibid.*, p. 135. See also Joseph Achkar, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

Before his dismissal, Ismā'īl had one further occasion to repeat the main terms of Ministerial Responsibility. A short time after he had become acquainted with Al- lā'ihā al-waṭaniya, or the programme of the so-called National Party, he wrote a letter to Sharīf Pasha, on April 7, 1879, asking him to form a new Council of Ministers. It was typical of Ismā'īl's desire to impress the Powers, that this official letter was written in French and only afterwards published in an Arabic translation in Al-waqā'if al-miṣriya⁵²³. In his letter, the Khedive charged Sharīf to form an all-Egyptian Ministry, on the lines of the official letter of August 28, 1878. He added, moreover, that the Ministers would be responsible to an Assembly which was still to be elected (Mukallafūn bi'l-mas'ūliya ladai majlis al-umma)⁵²⁴.

Though this seems to be the first real mention of Ministerial Responsibility to the Assembly in a Governmental Decree in Egypt, its significance and implications should not be overestimated, except for its value as a precedent.

523.

No. 806, Apr. 13, 1879.

524.

French text, in "Livre Jaune, 1878-1879", p. 194. Arabic translation partly reprinted in Al-hilāl, vol. XX, Feb. 1, 1912, p. 280; and partly in al-Rāfi'ī, "ʿAsr Ismā'īl" vol II, p. 222; see *ibid.*, p. 223. Cf. Shoukri Nagib, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31. Amin Osman, *op. cit.*, pp. 62. ss.

Ismā'īl was a clever ruler, and he probably accepted the above mentioned Lā'ihā waṭaniya only in order to get rid of the two European Ministers who were likely to supervise his expenditure too closely. In the same way his phrases about Ministerial ^sRéponsibility were meant to impress Europe, Ismā'īl probably following the well-known example of the Sultan 'Abdul Ḥamīd. Even the term Mas'ūliya, which means in modern Arabic, quite generally "Responsibility", was only an Arabic translation of the word in its original meaning, "being answerable" for something.

Sharīf Pasha, in his 1879 project for the constitution of the Assembly of Delegates, which was never issued as a decree, had touched the subject of Ministerial ^sRéponsibility. He had then suggested full Ministerial Responsibility before the Assembly of Delegates⁵²⁵.

In his 1881 project for the constitution of the Assembly, Sharīf withdrew from this advanced view. There is no available proof of any pressure exercised on him by the Khedive circles, but it is hardly possible to explain his change of attitude otherwise. His proposal in 1881 was that Ministers should be jointly responsible towards the

525.

See below, App. 4, § 36.

Assembly only for such decisions taken in the Council of Ministers that would prejudice the rights of the Assembly⁵²⁶. Even then, any decision about Ministerial Responsibility was to be taken only by a majority of three fourths of the votes of the delegates, counted by roll-call⁵²⁷.

These amendments practically nullified Ministerial Responsibility, for most matters could be defined, in one way or another, as not prejudicing the rights of the Assembly. Even in the few remaining cases, there was hardly a chance that three fourths of the Assembly would vote against the Council of Ministers, when the Khedivial circles could always exercise some pressure in the elections of the delegates. Should even three fourths desire to vote against the Government, it was highly improbable that they would dare to do so by a roll-call, as reprisals might follow. The fact that the suggestion was raised at all may be explained by Sharif's desire to be on the safe side, granting unreal powers to the Assembly, on one hand, and keeping constitutional appearances, on the other.

526.

See below, App. 5, § 18.

527.

Ibid., §§ 40, 43.

As soon as Taufīq took over the Khedivate, he wrote an official letter to Sharīf Pasha, stressing that he knew that the Khedivate ought to be a régime based on an Assembly (Shūrā) to which Ministers should be responsible, and declaring that he meant to rule only by such a system.^{528.}

The new Khedive had soon another occasion to re-affirm his attitude towards Ministerial Responsibility. In an official letter, dated September 21, 1879, Taufīq charged Rīyād Pasha to form a new Ministry. He reasserted his desire to govern "through his Council of Ministers and with it", thus repeating one of the most significant clauses of Ismā'īl's official decree of August 28, 1878, on which the whole of Taufīq's letter is based. The main change from what he had been decreed in Ismā'īl's time, was that Taufīq, while charging Rīyād with the presidency of the Council of Ministers, reserved for himself the right of being present at the meetings of this Council or even presiding them whenever he thought fit^{529.}

528.

An incomplete text of this letter may be found in *Al-hilāl*, vol. XX, Feb. 1, 1912, p. 280. For a part German translation cf. Kamal ~~Eldin~~ Galal, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

529.

French official translation in Morcos Sadek, op. cit., pp. 89-90, where "28 août 1898" should be altered to "28 août 1878". Arabic text in *Al-hilāl*, vol. XX, Feb. 1, 1912, p. 281. See also Biovès, op. cit., pp. 7, 9.

The delegates must have sensed the limitations which ~~the~~ Sharīf's project contained relating to Ministerial Responsibility. According to the observations of Majlis al-nuwwāb on Sharīf's project, summed by Sultān Pasha, Ministerial Responsibility was to be extended to every individual action and to every common-ministerial decision⁵³⁰. As usual in Egypt, a compromise was finally reached, and in the decree of February 7, 1882, Ministerial Responsibility was extended to all actions of a Minister relating to his work⁵³¹. On the other hand, the paragraphs imposing the conditions of the three fourths majority and the roll-call, in cases of Ministerial Responsibility, were incorporated unchanged into the decree⁵³².

As the Assembly of Delegates was dissolved soon after, never to be convoked again in the same way, the paragraphs about Ministerial Responsibility remained a dead

530.

See above, pp. 53-54, 60-62.

531.

See below, App. 6, §§ 21, 22.

532.

Ibid., §§ 44, 47. See also article on "Al-dasātīr al-ḥadītha wa'l-dustūr al-miṣrī al-qādīm", in Al-hilāl, vol. XXIX, Nov. 1, 1920, p. 139.

letter. The political functions of the Ministers continued to be determined more by tradition and practice than by laws and regulations. The powers of the Council of Ministers were not defined clearly under the British Occupation. Though each Minister had some liberty in the management of his department, the decisions of the Council of Ministers could not be published as decrees, until the Khedive signed them. British advisers helped each Minister, and their approval was required before the execution of any important project. As has been explained above, there was no real Ministerial Responsibility of the Egyptian Ministers towards the semi-parliamentary institutions under the Occupation⁵³³.

The 1923 constitution provided for the independence of the Ministers from the influence of the British advisers. It also connected them more closely with Parliament, since for the first time in the history of modern Egypt, the Council of Ministers was to be formed of the leaders of the strongest political group in Parliament. However, since

533.

Morcos Sadek, op. cit., pp. 94-95. Forster, op. cit., p. 8.

Parliament was often suspended for long periods after 1924, the Ministers actually continued to be at the mercy of the whims of the Monarch. The latter could, and did, appoint or dismiss the Ministers almost at will⁵³⁴. Although, according to the sixty-first paragraph of the 1923 constitution, Ministers were responsible both jointly and singly to the Chamber of Deputies, this was to remain, for the first few years at least, a dead letter.

534.

Abbas Hilmi II, op. cit., p. 97. C. S. Jarvis, "Desert and Delta", pp. 2-3.

App. 4.Project of the constitution of the Assembly of Delegates (1879)

1. The Assembly will consist of delegates (nuwwāb) elected in a manner to be prescribed by a special law.

2. Only subjects of the Egyptian Government, at least thirty years of age, and enjoying full political rights and other qualifications specified by the Electoral Law, are eligible.

3. The term of office will be for three years only, with the right of re-election.

4. Elections will take place once every three years, to start at least four months before that December 1 on which the (new) delegates are to meet.

5. The end of each session will be, by order, on March 1 of each year.

6. According to circumstances, the Khedive may order the session to begin before the specified time, or shorten or increase its period.

7. The opening will be attended by the Khedive in person or represented by the Prime Minister, and by all the Ministers and delegates; a Speech will be read, describing Egypt's internal conditions in the year preceding this ceremony and the measures the approval of which is regarded as necessary in this session.

8. Every delegate will be considered as representing all the Egyptian Umma and not only his electors.

9. The delegates will have full liberty to express their opinions and decisions and it will be forbidden that any of them

be influenced in his views by orders, promises or menaces.

10. Problems submitted by the Ministers to the delegates will be debated in the Assembly; resulting observations will be communicated to the Council of Ministers, but should be accompanied by explanations.

11. If a difference occurs between the Assembly of Delegates and the Council of Ministers, and neither gives way after repeated communications and explanations, and should the Council of Ministers refuse to resign, the Khedive will prorogue the Assembly and order new elections, on condition that not more than four months will lapse between prorogation and convocation. Should the new Assembly still maintain the same attitude on the point at issue, its decision should be carried into effect. The Umma may re-elect the same delegates or a part of them.

12. When a vacancy occurs in the Assembly, elections must take place with all expedition, the term of office of the new delegate ending at the next general election thus not exceeding the length of the original term of office.

13. The appointment of the President of the Assembly, the two Vice-Presidents, and the secretaries, will be made with the knowledge of the Assembly at the beginning of its session and they will remain in office until the commencement of the next.

14. The debates of the delegates in their plenary meetings will be public, but may be secret if demanded by one Minister, or ten delegates, and approved by the Assembly.

15. Delegates cannot be imprisoned or prosecuted, while the Assembly is in session, without the approval of the Assembly; this will not apply to circumstances in which a delegate is actually caught perpetrating a serious crime like murder.

16. If a delegate is caught in a criminal offence and arrested, information to this purport should be submitted to the President of the Assembly. If this body demands it, no further action will be taken against that delegate and he will be set free.

17. The Assembly can also demand the postponement of the prosecution against a delegate and his release even if he was arrested between sessions.

18. Each delegate, before assuming office, will swear publicly in the Assembly, after its inauguration, to be faithful to the Khedive and the Watan, to observe the Government's law and to discharge his duty to the benefit of the Watan.

19. Each delegate will receive 10,000 piastres yearly, for travel and maintenance expenses, in monthly payments during the three months session. He will get his 10,000 piastres whether the session be more or less than three months. However, if an extraordinary meeting is convened at another time during the year, no remuneration will be paid, except when one (delegate) empowers another to attend, and the substitute attends: then he will be remunerated, on a daily basis, for the expenses of his stay costs, provided it does not exceed 10,000 piastres. As regards the delegates from the Sudan, they will get, in addition, travelling expenses for a journey to Egypt's boundary and back.

App. 4.

20. Government officials, both civil and military, cannot be delegates in the Assembly; this rule will not apply to the directors of the Government departments, the inspectors and vice-inspectors of the provinces, the Mudīr-s or the Vice-Mudīr-s, on condition that their number does not exceed a fifth of the Assembly.

21. Debates to be valid must be conducted in the presence of two-thirds of the delegates, those absent with permission not to be taken into account. All decisions will be taken by majority, the President giving the casting vote in the case of a tie.

22. No delegate may empower another to express his views, but must deliver them himself.

23. Any Egyptian having electoral rights may petition the Assembly through a delegate. It will be examined by a sub-commission, and on the basis of the sub-commission's report, the Assembly will decide on the acceptance or rejection of the petition.

24. Any petition, relating to private matters, will be rejected if it is discovered that the petitioner has not previously submitted it to the proper official or bureau.

25. The Assembly will not allow an outsider to come to it and speak on any matter, either for himself or on behalf of any group. Also, no one but the delegates, the Ministers or their representatives shall have its audience.

26. The Council of Ministers should present the Assembly of delegates upon its first meeting, with all the past bills, regulations and decrees of the Government, so that the Assembly

may examine them and give its opinion, after which the ratification of the Khedive will make them law.

27. Legislation will be initiated by the Council of Ministers, presented to the Assembly for its examination and observation, so that no bill will be considered law until read in the Assembly, clause by clause, and decided upon; it will then still need the ratification of the Khedive. Delegates may, for the sake of public weal and according to circumstances change or modify any bill or any of its clauses, this Lā'ina asāsiya not excepted.

28. If the Assembly rejects any bill submitted to it by the Council of Ministers, or any clause of such a bill, these may not be presented again to the Assembly in its session of that year.

29. To decide on the validity of the credentials of the delegates is a prerogative of the Assembly.

30. The official language to be used in the Assembly will be Arabic.

31. Votes will be recorded in the following way: roll-call, showing of hands, or secret ballot.

32. Roll-call will be held only by the decision of the Assembly, proposed by one delegate and supported by ten others; secret ballot will be employed only in nominations, such as the appointment of the President, the Vice-Presidents, the secretaries, the members of sub-commissions and the like.

33. The statute of the procedure of the Assembly will be drawn up with its knowledge.

App. 4.

34. The number of the Assembly will not exceed 120 delegates, including those from the Sudan, according to provisions to be embodied in the Electoral Law.

35. The meeting-place of the Assembly will be Cairo, the capital of the country.

36. The Ministers are responsible to the Assembly for everything connected with their work. Following this, the Council of Ministers is expected to hasten the preparation of a bill for the trial of Ministers, when necessary, and its presentation to the Assembly.

37. No order of the Government will be executed until it is signed by the Minister concerned and based on a specific law.

38. A person cannot be Minister and delegate (at the same time).

39. Any Minister may be present at the meetings of the Assembly or be represented by one of the high officials of his department, on condition that this official is not a delegate himself.

40. Ministers or their representatives may speak in the Assembly concerning all matters about which they are asked to speak.

41. If at a time when the Assembly is not in session an occasion arises, requiring urgent measures for the defence of the Government against possible danger, or for public security, the Council of Ministers may order what is necessary on its own responsibility; and, after the Khedive's ratification, proper

App..4.

action will be taken, provided it is not contrary to the law and submitted to the Assembly on its (next) meeting.

42. When the delegates think it advisable to discuss a subject not included in what the Council of Ministers has submitted to them, a notice of their wish will be sent to the latter. If, within eight days from their sending the notice, the delegates do not receive any reasons, preventing the proposed debate, which meet with their approval, they may discuss that subject and reach decisions on it.

43. Ministers must reply to all questions put to them by the Assembly, either by coming to it in person or by being represented by one of the high officials of their department, on condition that he is not also a delegate in the Assembly.

44. The Ministers may, when very necessary delay their answer to the questions of the Assembly, provided that they explain the reasons for this delay not later than ten days before the end of the Assembly's session; (when such is the case), they must give their answer at the beginning of the Assembly's next session. Under all circumstances they will bear the responsibility of the delay.

45. The delegates will have the right to supervise the general expenditure in all details and decide its extent. They should fix the total and the means of expenditure as well as the collection, distribution, and dates of the different taxes. No tax whatever may be imposed or collected without the decision of

App. 4.

the Assembly, just as no sum may be spent from the taxation revenue, beyond that approved by the delegates.

46. After the inauguration of each session, the delegates may demand, for examination, the general Budget, comprising the revenue and expenditure, and, having approved it after an exhaustive study, this Budget will apply only to the current year, as another Budget will have to be drafted and presented to the delegates in the following year, and this will be repeated every year.

47. All decisions of the Assembly of Delegates will be sent to the Council of Ministers, to obtain the ratification of the Khedive.

48. If any of the clauses of this law is equivocal and necessity arises to determine its real meaning, the explanation will be demanded from the Assembly of Delegates.

49. If a delegate sees any neglect by an official, or in the administration of any Governmental department, he may communicate the above in writing to the Minister concerned. This regulation applies only to communal matters.

App. 5.

Organisation de la Chambre des délégués.

Projet de Règlement.

1. Les membres de la Chambre des délégués sont élus.

Une loi ultérieure fera connaître les conditions de l'électorat et de l'éligibilité en même temps que le mode d'élection à la Chambre des délégués.

2. Les membres de la Chambre des délégués sont élus pour une durée de quatre années; ils reçoivent une indemnité annuelle de cent (100) livres égyptiennes.

3. Les délégués sont libres dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions. Ils ne peuvent être liés ni par un mandat, ni par une instruction, ni par des menaces.

4. Les délégués sont inviolables.

En cas de crime ou de délit commis pendant la durée de la session, aucun député ne peut être mis en arrestation qu'avec l'autorisation de la Chambre.

5. Tout délégué représente au même titre les intérêts de la circonscription électorale dont il est élu et l'ensemble des intérêts généraux du pays.

6. La Chambre des délégués siège au Caire. Elle est convoquée, chaque année, par décret du Khédive, sur l'avis conforme du Conseil des Ministres.

App. 5.

7. Les sessions ordinaires annuelles de la Chambre des délégués ont une durée de trois mois, du 15 novembre au 15 février.

La Chambre peut aussi être convoquée en session extraordinaire.

La durée de ces sessions est fixée par le décret même de convocation.

8. Les sessions de la Chambre sont ouvertes, en présence des Ministres, par le Khédive ou par le Président du Conseil agissant par délégation du Khédive.

9. A la première séance de chaque session, un discours d'ouverture sera prononcé par le Khédive ou, en son nom, par le Président du Conseil. Il aura pour objet d'exposer à la Chambre les principales questions qui lui seront présentées dans le cours de la session,

Après la lecture du discours d'ouverture la séance sera levée.

10. Dans les trois jours qui suivront, la Chambre, après avoir nommé une Commission à l'effet de préparer une réponse au discours khédivial, votera cette réponse qui sera présentée à Son Altesse par une délégation choisie dans son sein.

App. 5.

11. La réponse au discours d'ouverture ne pourra traiter aucune question d'une façon décisive ni contenir aucun avis délibéré.

12. Le Président de la Chambre des délégués est nommé par le Khédive sur la proposition du Conseil des Ministres. Il doit être choisi parmi les membres de la Chambre des délégués; ses fonctions ont la même durée que la Chambre.

13. Les vice-présidents et les secrétaires sont élus par la Chambre pour la même durée, ils doivent être membres de la Chambre des délégués.

14. Le procès-verbal des séances de la Chambre est rédigé sous la direction du bureau de la Chambre.

15. La langue officielle est la langue arabe.

Les procès-verbaux et comptes rendus de la Chambre seront rédigés dans la langue officielle.

16. Les Ministres peuvent assister aux séances de la Chambre des délégués; ils peuvent prendre part aux discussions. Ils peuvent également se faire assister ou représenter dans des questions spéciales par des membres du Conseil d'administration et de législation ou par des hauts fonctionnaires de leur département ministériel.

App. 5.

17. Les Ministres fournissent toutes les explications qui leur sont demandées par la Chambre dans la limite de ses attributions. Les délégués, par l'entremise de leur Président, peuvent signaler au Ministre compétent les actes des fonctionnaires publics.

18. Les Ministres sont solidairement responsables vis-à-vis de la Chambre de tout mesure prise en Conseil, par laquelle il serait porté atteinte aux droits attribués à la Chambre par la présente loi.

19. Dans les mêmes conditions, la responsabilité de chaque Ministre peut être engagée par les mesures émanant de son initiative.

20. En cas de désaccord persistant entre la Chambre des délégués et le Ministère, le Khédive peut dissoudre la Chambre des délégués.

Il est alors procédé à de nouvelles élections dans le délai maximum de quatre mois.

21 Si la nouvelle Chambre est saisie à nouveau de la même question par le Ministère et si elle confirme par son vote la résolution exprimée par la Chambre précédente, cette résolution sera définitivement acquise.

22. La Chambre des délégués discute et vote les projets de loi et toute proposition qui lui est soumise par le Gouvernement. Elle émet des avis sur le budget.

App. 5.

23. Les projets de loi émanent de l'initiative du Gouvernement. Ils sont présentés à la Chambre des délégués par les Ministres après avoir été élaborés ou examinés par le Conseil d'administration et de législation.

24. La Chambre élit dans son sein une Commission chargée de l'examen de tout projet de loi qui lui est soumis.

Cette commission peut proposer au Gouvernement des modifications au projet. Dans ce cas, le projet et les modifications proposées sont renvoyés avant la discussion générale, par le Président de la Chambre au Président du Conseil des Ministres, qui consulte à nouveau le Conseil d'Administration et de Législation.

25. Si la Commission ne propose pas de modifications ou si celles qu'elle propose ne sont pas adoptées par le Gouvernement, le texte primitif du projet de loi est mis en délibération devant la Chambre. Si les modifications proposées par la Commission sont acceptées par le Gouvernement, le texte ainsi modifié est soumis à la discussion générale.

26. La Chambre des délégués peut adopter ou rejeter tout projet de loi. Elle peut aussi le renvoyer à la Commission pour être examiné à nouveau.

App. 5.

27. Les lois votées par la Chambre sont transmises par le Président de la Chambre au Président du Conseil des Ministres.

28. Nul impôt nouveau, direct ou indirect, foncier, mobilier ou personnel, ne peut être établi en Égypte sans une loi votée par la Chambre des députés. Toutes contributions autres que celles qui sont autorisées par les lois de finances, à quelque titre que ce soit et sous quelque dénomination qu'elles se perçoivent sont formellement interdites, à peine, contre les autorités qui les ordonneraient, contre les employés qui rédigerait les rôles et tarifs et contre ceux qui en feraient le recouvrement, d'être poursuivis comme concussionnaires, sans préjudice de l'action en répétition contre tout receveur, percepteur ou individu qui aurait fait la perception.

29. Le budget annuel des dépenses et recettes de l'État sera communiqué à la Chambre des députés, au plus tard le 10 novembre de chaque année.

30. Le budget général des recettes présentés à la Chambre donnera l'évaluation générale des ressources de l'État et il sera fourni, s'il y a lieu, des états détaillés relatifs à chaque nature de recette.

31. Le budget des dépenses sera divisé en Ministères et subdivisé en sections et chapitres correspondant aux divers branches des services publics.

App. 5.

32. La Chambre pourra émettre des Avis sur le budget de chaque Ministère; ces Avis et ces vœux seront transmis au Ministère des Finances par le Président de la Chambre, le 20 décembre au plus tard.

33. Le Service du Tribut, celui de la Dette publique, ainsi que toute charge résultant de la loi de liquidation ou de conventions internationales, ne pourront être l'objet d'aucune discussion.

34. Dans le cas où le budget ne pourra être examiné par la Chambre avant le 20 décembre de chaque année, il sera rendu exécutoire par simple décret du Khédive, sur la proposition du Conseil de Ministres, sous réserve des dispositions de l'article 28.

35. Tout Egyptien, jouissant de ses droits d'électeur, peut adresser une pétition à la Chambre des députés.

Toutes les pétitions seront renvoyées à une Commission élue par la Chambre.

Cette Commission en dressera un rapport général et proposera à la Chambre le rejet ou la prise en considération de chaque pétition.

Dans ce dernier cas, elle en ordonnera le renvoi pur et simple au Ministre compétent.

App. 5.

36. Toute pétition ayant pour objet des droits ou des intérêts personnels sera rejetée si elle ressort à la compétence des tribunaux civils ou administratifs, ou si elle n'a pas été préalablement adressée à l'autorité administrative compétente.

37. Dans l'intérêt de l'ordre public, ou pour conjurer un danger imminent, le Khédive pourra, sur l'avis conforme de son conseil des Ministres, prendre toute mesure urgente que nécessiteraient les circonstances.

Ces mesures, en tant qu'elles seraient de la compétence de la Chambre, lui seront soumises dans sa plus prochaine session pour y être ratifiées.

38. Nul ne pourra être admis à exposer ou discuter des questions ni à prendre part aux délibérations de la Chambre en dehors des délégués, à l'exception des Ministres ou de ceux qui les assistent ou les représentent.

39. Les votes de la Chambre auront lieu soit par assis soit par levé, soit par appel nominal, soit au scrutin secret.

40. Le vote par appel nominal ne pourra avoir lieu que sur la demande de dix membres au moins de la Chambre des délégués.

App. 5.

Tout# vote ayant pour résultat les dispositions prévues par l'article 43, sera émis par appel nominal.

41. Les élections des vice-présidents et secrétaires de la Chambre auront toujours lieu au scrutin secret.

42. La Chambre des délégués ne peut valablement délibérer que si les deux tiers au moins de ses membres assistent à la délibération.

Les délibérations sont prises à la majorité absolue des voix.

43. Toute délibération qui engagera la responsabilité ministérielle devra être prise à la majorité des trois quarts au moins des voix des délégués composant la Chambre.

44. Aucun vote ne peut être émis par un mandataire.

45. La Chambre des délégués élaborera son Règlement intérieure qui sera rendu exécutoire par décret de Son Altesse le Khédive.

46. Toutes dispositions de lois, décrets, ordres supérieurs, règlements ou usages contraire à la présente loi sont et demeurent abrogés.

47. Nos ministres sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution de la présente loi.

APPENDIX 6.DECREE.

We, Khedive of Egypt,

In view of our Decree of the 4th October, 1881 (11 Zilcadé, 1298)

In view of the decision of the Chamber of Delegates, and conformably with the advice of our Council of Ministers,

Have decreed and decree,

1. The Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected.

An ulterior and special Law will make known the conditions of electorability and of eligibility for election, and at the same time the mode of election to the Chamber of Deputies.

2. The Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected for a period of five years. They receive an annual payment of £E.100.

3. The Deputies are free in the exercise of their mandates. They cannot be bound either by promises or by (government) instructions, or by an (administrative) order, or by menaces of a nature to interfere with the free expression of their opinions.

4. The Deputies are inviolable. In case of crime or misdemeanour committed during the course of the Session, they cannot be put under arrest except with the leave of the Chamber.

App. VI.

5. The Chamber may also, after its convocation, demand, provisionally and for the duration of the Session, that any one of its Members who has been imprisoned shall be set at liberty, or that all action directed against him shall be suspended during the Chamber's recess, if for a criminal matter, where no judgment has yet been pronounced.

6. Each Deputy represents not only the interests of the constituency which has elected him, but also the interests of the Egyptian people in general.

7. The Chamber of Deputies shall sit at Cairo. It is convoked each year by Decree of the Khedive, and according to the advice of the Council of Ministers.

8. The ordinary annual Session of the Chamber of Deputies shall be for three months, viz., from the 1st November to the 31st January. But if the work of the Chamber is not finished by the 31st January, it may then demand a prolongation of fifteen to thirty days. This prolongation will be accorded by Decree of the Khedive.

9. In case of necessity the Chamber will be convoked in Extraordinary Session by the Khedive. The duration of the Extraordinary Session will be fixed by the Decree convoking it.

10. The Sessions of the Chamber shall be opened in the presence of the Ministers either by the Khedive or by the President of the Council of Ministers, acting by delegation of the Khedive.

11. At the first sitting of each annual Session an opening Speech shall be pronounced by the Khedive, or in his name by the President of the Council of Ministers. It shall have for its object to make known to the Chamber the principal questions to be presented to it in the course of the session. After the reading of the opening speech the sitting shall be adjourned.

12. During the three following days, the Chamber, having named a Committee for the purpose of preparing a reply to the opening speech, shall vote its reply, which shall be presented to the Khedive by a deputation chosen from amongst its members.

13. The reply to the opening speech may not treat of any question in a decisive sense, nor contain any opinion which has been the object of previous deliberations.

14. The Chamber shall submit to the Khedive a list containing the names of three Members whom it may propose for the office of President. The Khedive shall name by Decree one of the Members, thus designated, President of the Chamber of Deputies. The office of President shall continue for five years.

15. The Chamber shall elect two Vice-Presidents which it shall choose from among its Members, and shall name the Secretaries of its Bureau.

16. An official report of the sittings of the Chamber shall be drawn up under the direction of the Bureau of the Chamber, composed of its President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries.

App. VI.

17. The official language for the Chamber shall be Arabic. The proceedings and reports of the Chamber shall be drawn up in the official language.

18. The Ministers shall have the right of being present at the sittings of the Chamber, and of speaking there, when they shall think fit. They may cause themselves to be represented there by high state officials.

19. If the Chamber decides that there is reason for summoning one of the Ministers to appear before it to give explanations on any question, the Minister shall appear in person or cause himself to be represented by another official to give the required explanations.

20. The Deputies shall have the right to supervise the acts of all public functionaries during the Session, and through the President of the Chamber they may report to the Minister concerned all abuses, irregularities, or negligences charged against a public official, in the exercise of his functions.

21. The Ministers are jointly and severally responsible to the Chamber for every measure taken in Council, which may violate existing rules and regulations.

22. Each Minister is individually responsible, in the cases foreseen in the preceding article, for his acts occurring in the exercise of his functions.

23. In case of persistent disagreement between the Chamber of Deputies and the Ministry; when repeated interchanges of views and motives shall have taken place between them, if then the Ministry does not withdraw, the Khedive shall dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, and decree that new elections shall be proceeded with, within a period of time not exceeding three months, counted from the day of dissolution to that of re-assembly. All Deputies thus dismissed shall be eligible for re-election.

24. If the new Chamber confirms by its vote that of the preceding Chamber which had provoked the disagreement, this vote shall be accepted as final.

25. The Bills and Regulations emanating from the initiative of the Government shall be brought into the Chamber of Deputies by the Ministers, to be examined, discussed and voted. No Law shall become valid until it has been read before the Chamber of Deputies, Article by Article, voted clause by clause, and consented to by the Khedive. Each Bill shall be read three times and between each reading there shall have been an interval of fifteen days. In case of urgency a single reading shall, by a special vote of the Chamber, be declared sufficient. If the Chamber judges it necessary to demand the introduction of a Bill from

the Council of Ministers, it shall make the demand through the intermediary of the President of the Chamber, and in case of the approval of the Government, the Bill shall be prepared by the Ministry and introduced to the Chamber according to the forms fixed by this Article.

26. The Chamber shall choose from amongst its Members a Committee, charged to examine all Bills and Regulations submitted to it. This Committee may propose to the Government amendments of such bills as it has been charged to examine; in which case, the bill and the amendments proposed shall be sent back, before any general discussion, by the President of the Chamber, to the President of the Council of Ministers.

27. If the Committee does not propose any amendments or if those proposed are not adopted by the Government, the original text of the Bill shall be placed for discussion before the Chamber. If the amendments proposed by the Committee are accepted by the Government, then the text thus amended shall be placed for discussion before the Chamber. In case the Government should not accept the amendments proposed by the Committee, then the latter shall have the right of submitting its opinion and observations to the Chamber.

28. The Chamber of Deputies may adopt or reject all Bills submitted to it by the Committee. It may also return them to the Committee to be examined a second time.

29. The President of the Chamber shall convey to the President of the Council of Ministers the Laws and Regulations voted by the Chamber.

30. No fresh tax - direct or indirect - on movable, immovable or personal property may be imposed in Egypt without a Law voted by the Chamber. It is therefore formally forbidden that any new tax shall be levied, under whatever title or denomination it may be, without having been previously voted by the Chamber of Deputies, under penalty, against the authority which shall have ordered it, against the employees who shall have drawn up the schedules and tariffs and against those who shall have effected the recovery of the amounts, of being prosecuted as speculators. All contributions thus unduly levied shall be returned to those who have paid them.

31. The Annual Budget of the Receipts and Expenditure of the State shall be communicated to the Chamber of Deputies not later than the 5th of November of each year.

32. The General Budget of Receipts shall be presented to the Chamber, accompanied by notes explanatory of the nature of each receipt.

33. The Budget of Expenditure shall be divided Department by Department, and shall be subdivided into sections and chapters, corresponding to the various branches of the public service depending upon each Ministry.

App. VI.

34. The following cannot on any account be objects of discussion in the Chamber:

The service of the Tribute due to the Sublime Porte.

The service of the Public Debt.

Also all matters relating to the Debt and resulting from the Law of Liquidation, or Conventions existing between the Foreign Powers and the Egyptian Government.

35. The Budget shall be sent to the Chamber, to be examined and discussed there (under reserve of the preceding Article).

A Committee composed of as many Deputies, and having the same number of votes as the Members of the Council of Ministers and its President, shall be named by the Chamber to discuss, in common with the Council of Ministers, the Budget Estimates, and to vote them either unanimously or according to the majority.

36. In case of an exact division of votes between the Commission of the Chamber and the Council of Ministers, the Budget shall be returned to the Chamber and, should the Chamber confirm (by its vote) that of the Council of Ministers, this vote shall become executory (executoire). But if the Chamber should maintain the vote of its Committee, then the procedure shall be according to Articles 23 and 24 of the present Law. In this case, the credits of the Budget Estimates which shall have caused the division of votes, if they figures in the Budget of

App. VI.

the preceding year, and if they are not affected to any new object of expenditure such as public works or others, shall be employed provisionally and until the meeting of the new Chamber, according to Article 23.

37. If the new Chamber confirms the vote of the preceding Chamber, on the Budget, this vote shall become definitely executory, in conformity with Article 23.

38. No Treaty or contract between the Government and third parties and no farming concession shall acquire a final character without having been first approved by a vote of the Chamber, provided that such Treaty, contract or concession does not relate to an object for which a sum has already figures in the approved Budget, corresponding to the year for which the Treaty, contract or concession shall have been proposed. Likewise no concession for public works, the execution of which shall not have been foreseen by the Budget, and no sale, or gratuitous alienation of the State domains, nor concession of privilege of any kind shall become definitive until it shall have been approved by the Chamber.

39. All Egyptians may address a petition to the Chamber of Deputies. The petitions shall be sent to a Committee chosen by the Chamber from among its Members. Upon the report of this Committee the Chamber shall take into consideration or reject the petitions. The petitions taken into consideration shall be sent back to the Minister concerned.

40. All petitions relative to personal rights or interests shall be rejected if they are outside the competence of the Administrative and Civil Tribunals, or if they have not been previously addressed to the competent administrative authority.

41. If during the recess of the Chamber grave circumstances shall demand that urgent measures be taken to avoid a danger menacing the State, or to assure public order, the Council of Ministers may, then, upon its own responsibility and with the sanction of the Khedive, order those measures to be taken, even if they should be within the competence of the Chamber, supposing the time to be too short for the convocation of the latter. Nevertheless, the affair should be submitted for examination, at its next sitting, to the Chamber.

42. No one may be admitted to explain or discuss questions or to take part in the deliberations of the Chamber other than its members, with the exception of the Ministers or of those who are assisting or representing them.

43. The votes of the Chamber shall be given by the holding up of hands or by the calling over of names or by ballot.

44. The vote by calling over of names shall only be on the demand of at least ten Members of the Chamber of Deputies. All votes which may affect the provisions of Article 47 shall be made openly.

45. The naming of the three candidates for the Presidency of the Chamber, as well as the election of the two Vice-Presidents

and the nomination of the first and second Secretaries to the Chamber shall be made by ballot.

46. The Chamber of Deputies may not validly deliberate unless at least two-thirds of its Members are present at the deliberation. All decisions shall be taken absolutely according to the majority of votes.

47. No vote entailing Ministerial responsibility shall be given without a majority of at least three-quarters of the Members present.

48. No opinion shall be given by proxy.

49. The Chamber of Deputies shall elaborate its own internal Regulations. These shall be made executory by Decree of the Khedive.

50. The present Organic Law may be amended after agreement between the Chamber of Deputies and the Council of Ministers.

51. The interpretation of all Articles and phrases of the present law which it may be necessary to make clear shall be made on agreement between the Chamber of Deputies and the Council of Ministers.

52. All the provisions of Laws, Decrees, Superior Orders, Regulations, or Usages contrary to the present Law are and shall remain revoked.

53. Our Ministers are charged, each in what concerns him with the execution of the present Law.

Done in the Palace of Ismailieh, 7th February, 1882
(18 Rabi Awel, 1299).

(Signed) MEHEMET TEWFIK.

App. 7.Note on Hizb.

Originally, Hizb meant "a group of people" or "the followers of somebody"⁵³⁵. The word appeared in the Koran and in later literature, not necessarily having a political meaning; it often had a religious implication⁵³⁶. Afterwards, Hizb began to denote "the armed adherents of somebody"⁵³⁷, or "those subjected to the rule of somebody"⁵³⁸.

535.

My work is not concerned with that meaning of Hizb, which is translated by "a part of a book or of a prayer". This aspect was dealt with by E. Blochet, "A propos du hizb", in R.M.M., vol. XIV, No. 4, Apr. 1911, pp. 110-119.

536.

Koran, V, 61; LVIII, 20 and 22. Also "Lisān al-ʿarab", "Tāj al-ʿarūs", Lane's "Lexicon", al-Fīrūzābādī's "Al-qāmūs al-muḥīṭ" (Both in the printed editions and in the British Museum Or. Ms. 5439), An. Giggeius's "Thesaurus linguae arabicae".

537.

"Tāj al-ʿarūs", Lane's "Lexicon", Dozy's "Supplément", Freytag's "Lexicon", Butrus al-Bustānī's "Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ", Saʿīd al-Khurūʿī al-Shartūnī's "Aqrab al-mawārid", Ellious Boethor's "Dictionnaire français arabe" (2nd. ed., rev. by Caussin de Perceval).

538.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, "Kitāb masālik al-mamālik" (B.G.A., I), p. 22, l. 5. Ibn Hauqal, "Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik" (B.G.A., II), p. 29, l. 2.

Hizb had a special technical sense in the corporation organization. According to an undated Dervish tract called "Baṣṭ maḍad al-taufīq fīmā yataʿallaq bi-aḥkām al-ṭarīq", the new apprentices, grouped round an elder member of the corporation, formed a Hizb⁵³⁹. The same word still served as a name for the band of Muslim disciples following a religious leader in India in the sixties of the eighteenth century⁵⁴⁰. ; and as a name for the Muslim religious orders in Egypt in the first third of the nineteenth century⁵⁴¹.

539.

Thorning, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens etc.", pp. 195-196; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 200-212. See also *Der Islam*, vol. VI, 1915-1916, p. 153.

540.

M. S. Hasan al-Maʿṣūmī, "An appreciation of Shah Waliyullāh al-muḥaddith al-Dihlawī", *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXI, No. 4, Oct. 1947, p. 351.

541.

E. W. Lane, "The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians", ch. 28 — in Everyman's edition, p. 522; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 251, 508. See also *Der Islam*, vol. VI, 1915-1916, p. 153.

It is characteristic that this sense of Hizb as a grouping of adherents remained in practice even when the word was used as a translation of the West-European "political party". Though Hizb was translated by "party" by Lucie⁵⁴² and by Lane⁵⁴³, it is by no means certain that they referred to a "political party"; it rather seems they meant a group or a company. Newman's dictionary of 1871 is apparently the first known one to translate "Huzba as "party (in politics)"⁵⁴⁴. Since 'Urābī's time the word was freely used to mean a "political party"⁵⁴⁵. Still it is remarkable that an anonymous

542.

"Dictionnaire arabe-français" (Beirut, 1862).

543.

In his "Lexicon" (1865).

544.

F. W. Newman, "A dictionary of modern Arabic" (London, Trübner, 1871; 2 vols.), vol. I, p. 252; cf. *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 33. Huzb and Huzba are equally mentioned *ibid.*, vol. II, p. ~~22~~ 267.

545.

E.g., Jurjī Zaidān, "Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-ḥadīth", 2nd. ed., vol. II, pp. 247, 249 (first edition appeared in 1889).

Arabic writer in an Arabic paper in New-york in 1906⁵⁴⁶., though being aware that Hizb conveys the same meaning as the French "parti"⁵⁴⁷., used Hizb alternatively to mean a political group⁵⁴⁸., a class having common economic and commercial interests⁵⁴⁹., or an association of minority communities⁵⁵⁰.

546.

The article was "Ṣaut min ba'īd" (A voice from afar); part II, called "Hal fī Miṣr ḥizb waṭanī wa-lahu za'īm" (Is there in Egypt a patriot hizb with a leader?), was published in the bi-monthly Al-jāmi'a vol. V, Oct. 1, 1906, pp. 223-231.

547.

Ibid., p. 224.

548.

Ibid., pp. 226 ss.

549.

Ibid., pp. 229-230.

550.

Ibid., p. 230.

App. 8.

Traduction de l'original en langue arabe.
Manifeste du parti national égyptien.

Caire le 20 Zilcâdé 1296
4 Novembre 1879.

A une heure critique, suprême même, pour son pouvoir personnel, l'ex-Khédive, Ismaël-Pacha, invoqua l'intervention du parti national égyptien. C'était la première fois que le Prince, qui ne souffrait d'autre opinion que la sienne, laissait échapper de ses lèvres, toujours esclaves de sa pensée, ces mots magiques, si électriques en Europe, dont le sens, sagement interprété, élève l'âme, et sauve les nations en faisant des hommes.

Par cet appel au parti national qu'il savait exister, et dont il redoutait l'expansion, Ismaël voulait se sauver lui et les siens, pour se perpétuer au pouvoir, sans faire aucune des concessions qui eussent pu conjurer les tempêtes qu'il avait soulevées.

Cet appel vint trop tard. Personne n'y répondit.

Aujourd'hui le parti national égyptien désire s'affirmer. Il veut, en reconstruisant, et en se constituant à la face du monde politique, vivre de la vie qui lui est propre pour tirer, lui-même, le pays de l'abîme dans lequel l'arbitraire et l'usure l'ont plongé. Il estime, sur des données authentiques, que plus de soixante millions sterlings, sont restés dans les mains des intermédiaires

App. 8.

financiers et industriels du dernier règne, dont le legs à l'Egypte est une dette générale, avoisinant cent millions sterlings!

L'initiative du parti national est un devoir sacré, découlant d'un droit indiscutable, de ce droit que possède une nation libre, homogène, de cinq millions d'habitants, vouée à l'agriculture, laborieuse, et soumise aux mêmes lois civiles et religieuses. Cette nation, c'est la nation égyptienne, qui a résisté à des milliers de siècles de despotisme, et sans le travail de laquelle, la fertilité du sol ne saurait rien produire. Ce peuple laborieux, émancipé aujourd'hui, ne veut plus l'esclavage.

Le parti national entend relever les masses par une instruction progressive, primaire et secondaire appropriée aux moeurs et aux occupations des habitants. Le peuple doit connaître ses devoirs et ses droits. Son éducation doit être faite par son propre élément, dans la mesure du possible.

Ennemi des moyens extrêmes, le parti national a vu avec regret l'événement diplomatique, qui a déterminé brusquement la chute méritée du régime précédent.

Mais en s'inclinant devant les faits accomplis, ce parti ne peut considérer le Gouvernement constitué par l'influence étrangère, comme étant l'expression des vœux

et des besoins du pays, qu'on n'a pas daigné consulter. Tel qu'il est, il n'a aucune attache vraiment égyptienne, sa base est artificielle. Les puissances seules ont concouru à sa formation. La nation n'y est pour rien. Un Khédive règne au Caire, mais la direction suprême des affaires n'émane ni de lui ni de son ministère. Sous un pareil régime, l'Egypte, toujours responsable des fautes d'autrui, dont elle est lasse, marche à sa perte, comme elle y allait sous celui qui vient d'être renversé.

La nation nilotique ne peut accepter un état de choses qui la livre, sans appel, à une tutelle dangereuse pour son autonomie, et laisse l'exploitation de ses richesses à des éléments étrangers, irresponsables, jouissant d'immunités et de privilèges auxquels elle ne participe pas.

Elle se sent assez jeune et assez forte pour se régénérer elle même. Elle le veut. C'est pour cela qu'elle revendique hautement l'exercice de ses droits, en confiant ses intérêts au parti national égyptien, composé d'hommes capables et éprouvés, voués jusqu'hier au silence, et aujourd'hui des patriotes. Leur nombre est grand.

L'Egypte, avant tout, déclare vouloir se libérer d'une dette à la création de laquelle elle n'adhéra pas, parce qu'elle ne fut pas appelée à donner son opinion.

App. 8.

Le parti national constate, avec intention, cette inique irrégularité. Abattue, obérée, mais non deshonorée, l'Egypte est solvable. Cette tâche lourde, elle l'accepte, à condition que les puissances la laisseront libre de deviser les moyens d'arriver à une équitable solution, sans entraver le pays dans l'application de réformes d'une urgente nécessité.

Pour cela, il faut qu'elle soit administrée par des individualités égyptiennes, de son choix, et méritant sa confiance à tous les égards.

Le parti national ne nie pas le bien que les communautés indigènes peuvent attendre du concours éventuel et mesuré de l'élément étranger, dans certaines branches de l'administration. Au contraire. Il recherch^{ait} toujours, le cas échéant, les services des personnes éclairées, qui voudront bien les prêter aux chefs des départements dont est formé le Gouvernement du pays.

Mais, aussi bien qu'il ne veut pas de Ministres représentant telle ou telle influence européenne, ce qui ne doit pas avoir lieu en Egypte, dont la devise est: - TRAVAIL SANS POLITIQUE -, le parti national répudié, purement et simplement, toute immixtion étrangère, sous forme de chefs d'administrations principales, dont

les émoluments somptueux absorbent le plus clair des revenus publics, immixtion imposée et tolérée sous l'ancien régime, et dont les résultats ont largement contribué à la ruine de l'Egypte.

Le parti national représente, dans toutes ses affinités, aptitudes et aspirations, les populations égyptiennes, d'où il sort lui-même, qui sont soumises aux lois, ainsi qu'au for territorial du pays, sans aucune exception ou restriction.

Les nombreuses individualités qui sont à sa tête, n'ont jamais méconnu les excellents effets d'avis paternels et amicaux, données par les puissances européennes aux peuples asservis, qui cherchent à jouir d'une saine liberté. L'Egypte, la première, serait mal venue à nier ce qui est clair comme le soleil. Mais en admettant les bienfaits d'une influence si grande et si variée, elle désire^{ne la} recevoir que par des doses appropriées à ses forces d'assimilation, et lorsqu'elle le demande.

Et, pour prouver par ses actes, que le parti national égyptien, en s'affirmant, entend recourir aux vrais amis du pays, dans les circonstances délicates ou difficiles, il vient loyalement exposer sa position aux cabinets européens.

Rien ne serait plus facile aux populations nilotiques que d'arriver au redressement de leurs griefs, en suivant les phases historiques de la vie des nations européennes, qui jouissent aujourd'hui des libertés auxquelles l'Egypte aspire. Elles pourraient donc refuser l'impôt, et se mettre en opposition ouverte et légitime avec les autorités diverses qui la dirigent si mal.

Aucun peuple n'aurait plus de droit d'agir ainsi que le peuple Egyptien.

Mais les moyens violents répugnent au parti national, qui s'efforcera de n'y recourir qu'à la dernière heure. L'Egypte est un pays purement agricole. C'est par le travail et la paix qu'il arrivera à se relever de lui-même et par lui-même, et c'est en vue de ce résultat que le parti national a décidé d'en appeler aux puissances et au public, par le présent manifeste.

Ce manifeste du parti national égyptien, auquel, sans exception, tous ses membres adhèrent, ne peut, malheureusement, pour le moment, du moins, être signé d'aucun d'eux. Pourquoi? Parce que la forme de gouvernement octroyé à l'Egypte, sans participation nationale, par les puissances, et auquel le présent document a déjà fait allusion, peut, d'un

App. 8.

mot, sans procès, sans bruit, déporter, supprimer, ruiner dans leurs familles, les patriotes que le parti national a réuni sous un drapeau unique.

Est-ce que ces citoyens que le parti national a réuni manqueraient de courage civique, que la crainte de persécutions pût les empêcher d'accomplir leurs devoirs? Non. Tous verseraient et verseront, quand il le faudra, sans se plaindre, leur sang pour une cause si juste. Mais l'exil dont on ne revient pas, et la mort sans gloire ni profit, éclaircissent les rangs d'un parti qui a besoin de toutes ses forces, pour conduire à bien la tâche qu'il s'est imposée.

L'Egypte, d'un autre côté, est convaincu que l'Europe veut son bien, et son autonomie administrative. L'Egypte est certaine que sa solvabilité et le bon vouloir de ses enfants ne sont mis en doute par personne. Le parti national, qui pense identiquement, et qui ne peut s'arrêter en chemin, par défaut de confiance en ceux qui ont tout intérêt à le voir développer, sur les bords du Nil, les principes mêmes auxquels l'Europe doit sa grandeur, fait un appel solennel aux Cabinets du monde libre et civilisé, appel suprême, qui sera entendu parce qu'il sera compris des peuples.

Qu'il leur plaise de prendre sous leur protection, c'est-à-dire de garantir diplomatiquement les membres du

App. 8.

parti national égyptien, soit le parti lui-même, contre toute mesure arbitraire quelconque, attentatoire à leur vie, à leur liberté et à leurs droits, de la part du Gouvernement Egyptien actuel et futur, ou de quiconque, afin qu'il soit permis à chaque Egyptien de dévouer ses services à son pays, sans craindre d'être molesté ou empêché, de quelque façon que ce soit.

Sur cette garantie loyalement accordée, comme elle est loyalement demandée, tous les hommes qui forment le parti national égyptien, se rendront publiquement à l'appel de la nation, en acceptant la responsabilité de leurs oeuvres.

Le parti national se recommande tout particulièrement à Monsieur le Prince Chancelier von Bismark, qui a reconnu le grand principe de l'autonomie des nationalités, et qui voudra bien entreprendre de plaider sa cause par devant le Tribunal des nations.

En temps et lieu le Comité se fera connaître au Prince.

Jusque là, le parti national supplie les puissances de ne prendre aucune mesure définitive, contraire au contenu du présent manifeste, sans le consulter.

Aux conditions précitées il est prêt à agir.

Si l'Europe désire réellement, mettre ses actes en harmonie avec les paroles de sa diplomatie, elle protégera le parti national égyptien et fera droit à sa légitime demande.

L'Egypte ainsi qu'il est dit plus haut, accepte toutes les dettes contractées par ses vice-Rois, et les éteindra par entier.

Mais la nation qui a toujours payé, n'importe au prix de quel sacrifice, et qui entreprend de tout payer, a le droit de réclamer la jouissance, c'est-à-dire l'usage absolu de toutes les branches du revenu public, ou rendues telles par restitution, lesquelles forment l'actif naturel du pays. Aucune de ses ressources, désormais nationales, ne peut rester engagée, ni être donnée en garantie, à aucun titre, entre les mains de qui que ce soit.

Par conséquent, les chemins de fer égyptiens, ne sauraient continuer à servir de gage à la convention dite Goschen-Joubert, constituant un privilège injuste, que le Khédive Ismaël n'avait pas le droit de consentir, surtout lorsque l'Etat Egyptien, plus qu'obéré, était déjà, en dépit des échappatoires légales produites à l'époque, en suspension relative, par arrêt partiel de ses paiements.

De plus cette convention léonine, était, par sa propre nature, détrimentale aux intérêts de ceux qui, en prêtant leur argent, ont eu confiance dans la solvabilité de l'Egypte leur seul débiteur. Ismaël n'avait ni le droit ni le pouvoir de faire, à son gré, des catégories de créanciers, et encore moins le droit et le pouvoir de créer des privilèges, en détournant de l'actif égyptien certaines branches du revenu public, lui qui, pendant quinze ans s'était attribué, sous le manteau d'une habile confusion, toutes les ressources ordinaires et extraordinaires de l'État; lui qui avait absorbé tous les emprunts, et encouru, par conséquent, toutes les responsabilités rejetées aujourd'hui sur les épaules de l'Egypte.

Pas d'avantage Ismaël ne pouvait affecter tel ou tel domaine, dit particulier, au paiement de telle ou telle dette, ce domaine, en dehors des biens patrimoniaux du Prince, étant du Trésor égyptien.

Personne^{n'} ignore la fortune ~~la fortune~~ patrimoniale que possédait Ismaël en arrivant au pouvoir. M. Rivers Wilson devait le savoir, comme Vice-Président de la commission d'enquête. Tous les biens vice-royaux acquis, de quelque manière, ou à quelque titre que ce soit, depuis l'avènement de l'ex-Khédive, jusqu'à sa déposition, appartiennent à la nation, et doivent lui faire retour.

Ce principe de justice a été définitivement consacré par l'Acte conservatoire protestatif, du 25 avril 1870- que la Sublime Porte signifia aux puissances, et que Lord Clarendon accepta dans son sens et teneur.

La convention dite domaniale — de Rothschild— due à la regrettable initiative de M. Rivers Wilson, portant sur un emprunt de huit millions sterlings, hypothéqués sur de prétendus domaines Vice-Royaux, est invalidée pour les mêmes raisons et motifs déjà produits à l'égard de la convention Goschen-Joubert.

Chacun comprendra l'injustice souveraine qu'il y aurait de vouloir persister dans le maintien d'arrangements financiers de cette nature, contraires à la raison, et en opposition avec la conscience et l'équité.

Le parti national égyptien ne saurait mieux compléter son manifeste, qu'en soumettant au public le programme du débiteur honnête et sacrifié, qui s'est substitué à l'auteur de dettes stériles pour la nation, de l'Egypte enfin, toujours probe, touchant le règlement final de la question générale financière égyptienne.

~~Le voici-~~

Le Voici:—

A) Retour à l'Etat égyptien de tous domaines dit privés ou Vice-Royaux, ceux patrimoniaux exceptés.

B) Retour, ou retrait du privilège accordé à l'emprunt dit privilégié par l'affectation du produit des voies ferrées, comme gage, à quelque titre ~~que ce~~ que ce soit, du chef de cette combinaison.

Il est bien entendu que, dans le cas où les créanciers anglais, persisteraient à se prévaloir d'une convention léonine, qui assura à Ismaël une énorme somme détournée du Trésor, pour conserver la garantie du produit des voies ferrées, ils devront se contenter de ce revenu, tel quel, sans exiger le concours arbitraire et injuste, des deniers du pauvre contribuable, destinés à servir les intérêts de la Dette unifiée.

Aucun privilège enchainant les volontés et les labeurs du peuple ne peut et ne doit être toléré.

C) Conversion générale et simultanée de toutes les dettes consolidées et flottantes, privées ou d'Etat, reconnues, en un titre de rente unique, portant intérêt à quatre pour cent l'an, garanti par la nation nilotique et tous ses biens, lesquels seront échangés soit contre les anciens documents, soit contre les créances avérées,

à un cours équitable, en extinction finale de toutes prétentions ou réclamations des porteurs, envers l'Egypte, et son Gouvernement.

A cet effet, les dettes générales et flottantes, et celle mal à propos, appelée particulière, réunies ensemble, formeront un total qui sera augmenté de la somme jugée nécessaire pour compenser les différences équitables, créées par la conversion. De cet arrangement seront exclus les emprunts 1864, 1866 et 1867, en grande partie remboursés, et représentant un solde de £s. 2,500,000 sterl. environ, dont l'extinction suivra son cours régulier, avec réduction d'intérêt, à 5%.

Comme les recettes de l'Egypte, dans les conditions économiques où se trouvent les agriculteurs, après tant d'exactions, ne peuvent normalement dépasser: £s6,500,000 (maximum déjà élevé), le budget des dépenses du gouvernement devra être placé sur un fief d'économie non parcimonieuse mais raisonnable. Néanmoins, il restera de la marge, pour constituer un fond d'amortissement important, calculé en vue de l'extinction de la Dette égyptienne, en un nombre d'années déterminé.

D) Un contrôle international, spécial et temporaire, composé de trois membres choisis par les puissances, agréés du Gouvernement égyptien, surveilleront

le service des intérêts de la Dette, sans autre ingérence ou attribution administrative.

Les contrôleurs seront en communication directe avec le ministère égyptien, et leur responsabilité, comme celle du gouvernement lui-même, sera spécialement mentionné dans une convention internationale, afin d'éviter, par une stricte observation de ses clauses, tout prétexte d'intermixture étrangère possible.

Il serait malséant de croire que les Puissances les plus intéressées dans les difficultés financières de l'Egypte, par la part que leurs ressortissants ont prise, à leurs périls et risques, à des opérations aussi aléatoires, comme la France, par exemple, cherchassent influencer les autres, qui le sont moins, pour exiger du pays nilotique plus qu'il ne peut payer, en se réformant lui-même.

Le parti national égyptien déclare que les populations ne peuvent pas même supporter l'assiette actuelle de l'impôt, et que le système doit en être réformé, en même temps que les taxes seront diminuées. Dans le cas contraire la situation économique du pays empirera et beaucoup de terres resteront incultes.

La paix et la prospérité d'un peuple ne peuvent dépendre du paiement d'un coupon, à un certain taux purement fictif, quand les forces productives de la

App. 8.

nation s'y opposent, et que la fauteur du mal, qui a accumulé d'immenses richesses, s'est débarrassé, en s'éloignant du pays avec la sanction des puissances, de tout espèce de responsabilité.

L'Egypte ne serait-elle qu'une simple expression géographique, et les cinq millions d'habitants qui la vivifient, devraient-ils être assimilés à du bétail, auquel on impose des bergers à caprice?

Le peuple, qui, par ses travaux assidus, et sa patiente industrie, a produit les milliards dépensés pendant seize ans du plus dur despotisme, n'a-t-il pas conquis le droit d'attendre du monde civilisé un peu de justice et d'équité?

Ce qu'il demande c'est d'être traité comme voudraient l'être ses frères d'Europe, s'ils fussent placés dans une position identique à celle qui lui est faite.

Par cette unification générale, aux conditions indiquées, l'Egypte délivrée des embarras et des charges qui la ruinent, rentrant dans l'exercice de ses droits sur toutes les branches du revenu public, offrira à ses créanciers à titre unique, des garanties d'autant plus positives, que les détenteurs en seront égaux devant le grand livre de la Dette, sans aucune exception

App. 8.

ni privilège.

Ces avantages capitaux, qui n'échapperont à personne, releveront les cours de la Rente Egyptienne, et empêcheront, à toujours, les immenses oscillations du marché financier, en mettant un terme aux manoeuvres de la spéculation.

Pour traduction conforme à
l'original en langue Arabe
le Secrétaire du Comité

Aali.

App. 9.

1907 Programme of Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī.

1. The autonomy of Egypt (or her internal independence) as established in 1840 by the treaty of London and guaranteed by imperial firmans.

(This autonomy guarantees the throne of Egypt to the descendants of Mohamed Ali and the internal independence of the country; it comprises all the countries given to Egypt by the Imperial firmans). This autonomy England has officially promised to respect.

2. The institution of representative government, so that the governing authority may be responsible to a Parliament possessing authority like that of European parliaments.

3. The respect of treaties and financial conventions which bind the Egyptian government to pay its debts and to accept a financial control like the Anglo French condominium, so long as Egypt remains the debtor of Europe and Europe demands this control.

4. The outspoken criticism of all ill courses and actions, the recognition and encouragement of the good, and the demonstration to the Government of the interests of the nation, of its desires and the reforms of which it stands in need.

App. 9.

5. The furtherance and spreading of education throughout the entire country on a strong national basis, so that the poor may have the largest share; war against errors and stupidities; the propagation of sound religious principles which inculcate progress; and the incitement of the rich and influential to aid education by f^unding universities, by sending missions to Europe and by creating night-schools for the working classes.

6. The development of agriculture, industry, commerce and all the branches of social life, in order to enable the nation to win scientific and economic independence.

7. The enlightenment of the minds of the Egyptians regarding the present situation, the propagation of the national spirit, the inculcation of union and harmony between the two elements of the nation, the Mussulmans and the Copts, the indication of the duties incumbent on all towards their country and the accomplishment of these duties while taking care to assure peace and security in every nook and corner of Egypt.*

8. The encouragement and assistance of every useful project and the amelioration of the sanitary conditions now prevailing, so that the inhabitants may increase in numbers and in that manner augment the

App. 9.

strength of the nation.

9. The development of the bonds of union and friendship between Egyptians and the foreign colonists, the effacement of all misunderstanding, and the judging of foreign criminals by the Mixed Courts.

10. The strengthening of the ties of friendship and of attachment between Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, the development of the realtions of friendship and confidence between Egypt and the European Powers, the refutation of all accusations framed against Egypt, and the winning over to the national cause of partisans everywhere so that they may constitute a super or moral force, helping the nation to gain recognition by others of its legitimate rights and to foil the attempts made against its interests to hide the truth.

App. 10.

Résolutions votées par le 2^e Congrès de la Jeunesse
Egyptienne.

Tenu à Genève, les 13, 14 et 15 septembre 1909.

Première résolution.- Considérant que l'occupation anglaise a été effectuée sous de faux prétextes et maintenue en dépit des promesses réitérées d'évacuer la vallée du Nil, le 2^e Congrès, sur la proposition du Comité permanent, **renouvelle** sa demande de retrait immédiat des troupes britanniques et d'établissement d'un régime représentatif, effectif et responsable, et prie en outre le Comité Permanent de la Jeunesse Egyptienne d'user de tous les moyens légaux pour arriver à cette fin.

Il décide qu'une copie de cette résolution sera envoyée:-

Au Conseil Législatif;

A l'Assemblée Générale;

Au Khédive;

A la Sublime Porte;

A Sir Ed. Grey, Sir El. Gorst, au chef du Parti Ouvrier Anglais, au chef du Parti Irlandais, à la Chambre des communes.

Deuxième résolution.- Le 2^e Congrès, sur la proposition du Comité Permanent de la Jeunesse

App. 10.

Egyptienne, invite les partis politiques égyptiens à unir leurs efforts, dans une action étroite et énergique pour travailler en commun à la libération du pays.

Afin d'inaugurer cette ère nouvelle et de remédier à la négligence voulue que le gouvernement actuel apporté à l'éducation et à l'instruction de la nation égyptienne, le Congrès décide de nommer un Comité de quinze membres pris dans les trois grands partis politiques - parti national, parti du peuple, parti des réformes constitutionnelles.- La tâche de ce Comité sera d'organiser au Caire, en novembre 1910, un Congrès qui étudiera les moyens pratiques d'établir un système d'enseignement libre et absolument indépendant de l'Etat, dans le but d'éduquer et d'instruire les deux sexes de la nation et par là d'arriver à faire de bons citoyens.

Troisième résolution.- Pour éclairer l'opinion publique du monde civilisé, et la tenir au courant des conséquences néfastes de l'occupation anglaise en Egypte ainsi que de son influence démoralisante, le Congrès, sur la proposition du Comité Permanent de la Jeunesse Egyptienne, déclare nécessaire la création d'un journal bi-mensuel intitulé l'Egypte libre qui paraîtra à

Genève en français et en anglais. Ce journal sera l'organe du Comité Permanent de la Jeunesse Egyptienne.

Quatrième résolution.- Le Congrès, sur la proposition du Comité Permanent de la Jeunesse Egyptienne décide d'envoyer aux Jeunes-Turcs, ainsi qu'aux nationalistes persans, ses sincères félicitations pour la victoire qu'ils viennent de remporter dans leur lutte et le triomphe de la liberté des principes constitutionnels et les convie à sympathiser avec leurs frères égyptiens, et à les aider dans leur tâche.

Cinquième résolution.- Le congrès, sur la proposition du Comité Permanent de la Jeunesse Egyptienne proteste contre le rétablissement du décret de novembre 1881 supprimant la liberté de la presse en Egypte et en demande l'abrogation. A cette fin il décide de nommer une Commission composée des directeurs des trois journaux de Caire, organes des partis national, Peuple et des réformes pour étudier cette question et présenter un rapport détaillé au prochain Congrès.

Sixième résolution.- Le Comité Permanent de la Jeunesse Egyptienne fixera le lieu et la date du 3e Congrès.

App.11.

Brussels Congress.

Summarized table of contents of the lectures given.

- I. Lettre adressée au Congrès national égyptien par M. W.S. Blunt (pp. 75 - 90).
- II. Fouad Hassib, Sommes-nous prêts pour le régime parlementaire? (pp. 91 - 100).
- III. Hamed el Alaily, The future of Egypt the moral and intellectual aspects of Egyptian nationalism (pp. 101 - 129).
- IV. Moustapha el Shoubarghi, Les capitulations en Egypte (pp. 130 - 140).
- V. A. Wafik Rifaat, L'Angleterre et l'instruction en Egypte. (141 - 169).
- VI. Mahgoub Shabit, L'enseignement de la médecine en Egypte (170 - 176).
- VII. Mlle Encherak Chawky, Lettre au congrès national égyptien (pp. 177 - 182).
- VIII. Abdel Salam Zohny, Legislation En Egypte. (pp. 183 - 195).
- IX. Dr. Mansour Rifaat, L'Hygiène publique en Egypte (pp. 196 - 204).
- X. Dr. Mahgoub Shabit, L'Hygiène publique en Egypte (pp. 205 - 214).
- XI. Abdel Rahman el Rafei, Le role de la presse en Egypte et son évolution sous l'occupation anglaise (pp. 215 - 225). ~~quite well-written.~~
- XII. Sayed Marei, L'industrie en Egypte { pp. 226-
236).
- XIII. Une groupe d'officiers égyptiens, A review of the condition of the Egyptian army under the British Occupation. (pp. 237 - 253).
- XIV. Mohamed Hafez Ramadan, La question d'Egypte et la politique anglaise. (pp. 254 - 261).

- XV. E. Sainte-Claire Deville, L'agriculture égyptienne. (262 - 322).
- XVI. Ali Kamel, Les conséquences financières de l'occupation de l'Egypte par l'Angleterre. (pp. 323 - 371).
- XVII. Mohamed Zaky Aly, Le Soudan égyptien. (pp. 372 - 385).
- XVIII. Wafik Rifaat, L'Angleterre et l'instruction en Egypte. (in extenso) (pp. 386 - 465).

App. 12.1922 Programme of Al-hizb al-watani.

1. Indipendenza assoluta della valle del Nilo entro i suoi antichi confini, senza traccia d'influenza straniera;
2. Annulamento del Trattato del 1899 relativo al Sudan anglo-egiziano;
3. Immediato e completo sgombro delle truppe inglesi dalla valle del Nilo;
4. Esclusione di ogni accordo che concede all'Inghilterra una posizione speciale nella valle del Nilo;
5. Opposizione alle trattative fra Inghilterra ed Egitto, per il motivo che i diritti dell'Egitto non abbisognano di discussioni;
6. Tutte le misure prese in Egitto sotto il regime dello stato d'assedio non saranno riconosciute valide;
7. Neutralità del Canale di Suez sotto la custodia dell'Egitto;
8. Riconoscimento del potere religioso del Califfo.

App. 13.

Constitutive Programme of the Wafd.

1. Es konstituiert sich eine Delegation unter dem Namen "al-Wafd al-miṣri" aus den Herren Saʿd Zaḡhlūl Pascha, ʿAlī Ṣaʿrāwī Pascha, ʿAbdal ʿazīz Fahmī Bey, Muḥammed ʿAlī Bey, ʿAbdallaṭīf al-Mukabātī, Muḥammed Maḥmūd Pašha, Aḥmed Luṭfī as-Saiyid Bey, Ismāʿīl Ṣidqī Pascha, Sennūṭ Hanna Bey, Ḥamād al-Bāsil Pascha, George Ḥayāt Bey, Maḥmūd Abunnaṣr Bey, Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās, Dr. Ḥāfiẓ Afīfī Bey.

2. Die Aufgabe dieses Wafd ist es, auf friedlichem gesetzlichem Wege auf eine vö llige Unabhängigkeit hinzuwirken, wo immer sie dafür einen Weg findet.

3. Der Wafd schöpft seine Kraft aus dem Wunsch der ägyptischen Bevölkerung, dem sie Ausdruck verleiht entweder direkt oder durch ihre Abgeordneten in den parlamentarischen Körperschaften.

4. Der Wafd darf bei der Aufgabe, für die er gewählt worden ist, nicht eigenmächtig handeln; weder die gesamte Delegation noch ein einzelnes Mitglied darf in seinen Forderungen über die Grenzen seiner Vertretungsmacht hinausgehen, aus der er seine Kraft herleitet.

Dies ist:-

Vö llige Selbständigkeit Ägyptens und alles, was sich im einzelnen daraus ergibt.

5. Der Wafd besteht ebenso lange wie seine Aufgabe, für die er berufen wurde, und hört auf mit deren Beendigung.

6. Jedes ^{einzelne} Wafdmitglied ~~(einzelne)~~ schwört, seine Aufgabe zu erfüllen gemäss dem, wofür er gewählt worden ist, sich für seine Arbeit zu verbürgen und keine Geheimnisse des Wafd zu verraten.

7. Wenn der Ausschluss eines Mitgliedes nötig wird, so geschieht dies durch einen Beschluss von wenigstens $3/4$ des Wafd. Das Mitglied hat (von sich aus) das Recht, jederzeit auszuscheiden, ohne die Berechtigung die gezahlten Beiträge zurück zu fordern.

8. Der Wafd kann andere als Mitglieder heranziehen, wobei jedoch bei ihrer Auswahl der Nutzen zu beachten bleibt, der sich aus ihrer Beteiligung an der Arbeit ergibt.

9. Der Wafd fährt in jede Gegend, wenn es einen Vorteil für die ägyptische Sache bedeutet. Er hat das Recht, auch einige seiner Mitglieder zu einer (solchen) Reise in irgendeine Gegend als Abordnung zu senden, wenn sich daraus ein Vorteil ergibt.

10. Die Beschlüsse werden mit Stimmenmehrheit gefasst; bei Stimmengleichheit entscheidet der Vorsitzende.

11. Der Wafd ernennt einen Vorsitzenden, einen Sekretär und einen Schatzmeister; jeder von ihnen kann Assistenten aus dem Mitgliederkreise haben.

App. 13.

12. Die Delegation ernennt nach ihrem Gutdünken Leute aus den Mitgliedern für besondere Aufgaben. Sie ernennt auch ganze Kommissionen, deren Kompetenz und Mitgliederzahl begrenzt ist.

13. Der Vorsitzende verkörpert den Wafd, er präsidiert seine Sitzungen, er wacht über ihre Organisation, kontrolliert die Arbeiten der Kommissionen, deren Mitglieder mit (Sonder-)Aufgaben, die Arbeit des Sekretärs und den richtigen Bestand der Kasse.

14. Der Sekretär versieht die schriftlichen Arbeiten für den Wafd, und unter seiner Obhut stehen die Archive und Bücher und anderes von den Papieren des Wafd, abgesehen von den Rechnungspapieren.

15. Der Schatzmeister wacht über die Gelder, die gesammelt sind, um die allgemeinen Ausgaben des Wafd zu decken, gleichgültig, ob sie bei ihm oder bei der von dem Wafd bestimmten Bank deponiert sind. Er kontrolliert die Rechnungsgeschäfte, und er ist verantwortlich für alle Verwendungen vom Gelde des Wafd.

16. Der Wafd gilt als ständig konstituiert; seine ordentlichen Sitzungen werden anberaumt durch Einladung des Vorsitzenden und, wenn es notwendig ist, kann er auch Beschlüsse, die er für eilig hält, allein fassen; in diesem Fall muss er sie in der nächsten ordentlichen Sitzung

vorlegen, um sie in das Protokoll aufzunehmen.

17. Die Sitzungsprotokolle enthalten - mit Auszügen - alle Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse; jedes Gespräch, welches die Aufgabe des Wafd berührt, muss darin protokollarisch festgelegt werden.

18. Das Protokoll wird in der folgenden Sitzung genehmigt und vom Vorsitzenden und Sekretär unterschrieben.

19. Abgesehen von den Protokollen legt der Sekretär eine Liste an, in die er alle wichtigen Ereignisse und Veränderungen und Arbeiten täglich einträgt. Diese Liste wird täglich von dem Vorsitzenden visiert.

20. Ein Mitglied des Wafd darf mit einer Person des öffentlichen Lebens nur dann im Namen des Wafd verhandeln, wenn er dem Vorsitzenden das Thema vorher mitgeteilt hat; nach Beendigung muss er das Gespräch schriftlich fixieren und es dem Vorsitzenden einreichen.- Wenn er den Vorsitzenden aber vor dem Gespräch nicht erreichen kann, so muss er seinem Gesprächsgegner gegenüber erklären, dass er in diesem Gespräche nicht den Wafd repräsentiert.

21. Jedes Mitglied, welches Sonderausgaben, durch Reisen oder Aufenthalt, bezahlt, darf nur die Unkosten zurückverlangen, die ihm im Interesse des Wafd entstanden sind. Das Geld des Wafd wird nur zu seinem Nutzen verwandt.

22. Nur auf Beschluss der Delegation wird Geld ausgegeben. Die Ausgabeerlaubnis wird vom Vorsitzenden und vom Schatzmeister unterschrieben. Die Delegation bestimmt einen Fond als dauernden Vorschuss, um die eiligen Sachen aus ihm zu decken, unter der Voraussetzung, dass der Wafd alle Ausgaben genehmigt, nachdem der Vorschuss verbraucht und die Festsetzung eines neuen beantragt ist.

23. Der Wafd kann besoldete Arbeitskräfte zur Unterstützung der Verwaltungs- und Schreibarbeiten hinzuziehen. Diese stehen - wie es dem Charakter ihrer Arbeit entspricht - unter der Kontrolle des Sekretärs oder Schatzmeisters, alle aber unter der Verwaltung des Vorsitzenden. Die Angestellten aber schwören, dass sie kein Geheimnis verraten, welches sie bei ihrem Dienst erfahren.

24. Das Vermögen des Wafd besteht aus dem, was sich aus den Spenden ergibt, die die Mitglieder zahlen oder auch andere, die den Wafd und seine Arbeit unterstützen wollen.

25. Was von dem Vermögen des Wafd nach Erfüllung seiner Aufgabe übrig bleibt, soll für eine allgemein nützliche Sache Aegyptens verwandt werden gemäss dem, was der Wafd beschliesst.

26. Der Wafd ernennt eine Kommission unter dem Titel "Zentrales Komitee" für den ägyptischen Wafd," dessen Mitglieder er aus angesehenen national begeisterten Leuten auswählt. Ihre Aufgabe ist es die Spenden für den Wafd zu sammeln und sie ihm zu schicken und mit dem Wafd zu korrespondieren, soweit die Angelegenheiten seine Aufgabe betreffen.

Glossary.

‘Adam al-mu‘āwana. Non-cooperation. One of the ways of passive resistance — Muqāwama salbiya (q.v.).

Amīriya domains. Name of the land property belonging to the Government.

Aqlām, see: Qalam.

Bait al-umma. The house of the nation. The title generally given to Sa‘d Zaghlūl's house. During Zaghlūl's life, it was the centre of the Wafd's activities.

Dār al-‘ulūm, see: Madrasat dār al-‘ulūm.

Daribat al-mawāshī. Animal tax. One of the additional taxes imposed by the Egyptian Government in 1871 and abolished in the same year at the request of the Assembly of Delegates.

Dawāwīn, see: Diwān.

Dīwān (pl.: Dawāwīn). Office, in the larger sense of the term. Often applied to a governmental department in Egypt.

Al-dīwān al-khusūṣī. The special council. A body formed by Napoleon to advise him. It was appointed, and represented, to some extent social and religious interests.

Dustūr. Constitution. One of the demands of political parties in the early twentieth century was a liberal dustūr for Egypt.

Firmān. Order, command. Often used for an order issued by the Turkish Sultan; also applied to the order of investiture sent by the Sultan to the Khedive (q.v.).

Hizb. Faction, party. See above, App. 7, "Note on Hizb".

Hizb al-ahrār al-dustūriyīn. The Constitutional Liberals Party. Name of a party, founded in 1922. See above, part II, ch. VII.

Hizb al-islāh 'alā'l-mabādi' al-dustūriya. The Party of Reform by constitutional principles (or means). Commonly translated as the "Constitutional Reformers". See above, part II, ch. V.

Hizb al-umma. The Party of the Umma (q.v.). Founded in 1907. See above, part II, ch. V.

Al-hizb al-wafdī al-niyābī. The Parliamentarian Wafd Party. Name of the party formed, in 1924, out of the Wafd (q.v.) adherents in the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies.

Al-hizb al-waṭanī. The National Party (however, see below, Waṭan). A name assumed both by the party led by the 'Urābī and his fellow officers and by that headed by Muṣṭafā Kāmil. See above, part II, chs. II and IV.

Al-hizb al-waṭanī al-hurr. The National Free Party (however, see below, Waṭan). Name of a party formed in 1908. See above, part II, ch. V.

Kātim al-asrār. The hider (keeper) of the secrets, i.e., secretary. Term used by the Miṣr al-fatāt society (q.v.) in 1879, and many times afterwards.

Istiqlāl tāmm. Complete independence. One of the main watchwords used by the Wafd (q.v.) in its programmes and propaganda.

Ittihād muqaddas. Sacred Union, a term borrowed from the often-used "Union sacrée". See above, p. 294.

Jalā'. Evacuation (of Egypt by the British). One of the main slogans of Al-hizb al-waṭanī (q.v.).

Jam'īya (pl.: Jam'īyāt). Assembly or society; sometimes also used for an unorganized association.

Jam'īya misriya. Egyptian association. Name of an association of Egyptians in Paris, after the First World War.

Jam'īya tashrī'īya. Legislative Assembly, a parliamentary body, elected for the greater part; founded in 1913. See above, part I, ch. VI.

Jam'īya 'umūmiya. General Assembly, a semi-parliamentary body. See above, part I, ch. V.

Jam'īya waṭaniya. Patriotic society. Name of a short-lived association, allegedly formed for benevolent aims.

Kaukab al-sharq. The Orient Star. Arabic translation of the name of a masonic organization, with branches in Egypt.

Khedive. A Persian word, meaning "sovereign". Used as an honorary title by Muḥammad 'Alī, granted officially to Ismā'īl by the Sultan in 1876. Often translated in European languages as "Viceroy".

Khiṭāb al-'arsh. The Speech from the Throne.

Lā'iha (pl.: Lawā'ih). Statute, regulation, or law. Often used as a translation of the Turkish Name. It is also applied to a draft law or a political programme.

Lā'ihā asāsīya. Foundation Statute or Organic Law. Often used as a translation of the Turkish asasname.

Lā'ihā nizāmīya. Statute of organization or procedure (of a body). Often used as a translation of the Turkish nizamname.

Lā'ihā waṭanīya. Patriotic programme. Name given, since 1879, by some Egyptian political groups or parties to their programmes. See also Lā'ihā and Waṭan.

Lā'ihat al-hizb. "Programme" or "statutory rules" of the party. Term used in the foundation assembly of Al-hizb al-waṭanī (q.v.) in 1907, and afterwards.

Lā'ihat al-intikhāb. Electoral Law; sometimes means "Project of electoral law". Synonymous, in Ismā'īl's time, with Qānūn al-intikhāb.

Lajna (pl.: Lijān). Committee. In the Assembly of Delegates, Lajna was sometimes synonymous with Qalam (q.v.). These committees were elected from among the delegates.

Lajna idāriya. Administrative Board (of a party, organization, etc.).

Lajna markaziya. Central Committee. Name of the body left behind by the Wafd (q.v.), upon its departure for Europe in April, 1919, to inform it of local developments and aid it financially.

Lajna tanfidhiya. Executive Committee (of a party, organization, etc.). This usually included the principal officials of the body and directed its policy.

Lajnat al-lā'iha. The statute sub-commission. This was elected, when necessary, from among the members of the Assembly of Delegates, to draft or examine new constitutional projects, and submit its report to this Assembly. It generally consisted of fifteen members. See also above, Lā'iha, Lajna.

Lijān, see: Lajna.

Madrasat dār al-alsun. School of languages. First opened in Cairo in 1836, under the name of Madrasat al-tarjama, the School of translation. For some time, during the seventies of the nineteenth century, Muḥammad 'Abduh taught there.

Madrasat dār al-ʿulūm, or Dār al-ʿulūm. Name of a training school, opened in Cairo in 1872. Besides lectures on religious subjects, instruction was provided in physics, chemistry, architecture, mechanics, botany and history.

Mahākim, see: Mahkama.

Mahkama (pl.: Mahākim). Court of Law.

Mahkama shar'īya (pl.: Mahākim shar'īya).

Religious Court.

Majālis tanzīm al-zirā'a, see: Majlis tanzīm al-zirā'a.

Majālis taftīsh al-zirā'a, see: Majlis^{taftīsh} al-zirā'a.

Majlis da'āwī al-balad. The village Council for litigation. Name of a projected Court for each village, to adjudicate minor law matters (1871).

Majlis al-da'āwī al-markaziya. The Central Council for litigation. Name of a projected Court for the largest village of each mudīriya (q.v.).

Al-majlis al-mahallī. The Local Council. Name of a projected Court (1871) in each mudīriya (q.v.), to which one might appeal from Majlis al-da'āwī al-markaziya (q.v.).

Majlis al-mashwara. The Consultative Council. A body, consisting of 156 members, which advised and assisted Muhammad 'Alī in internal matters.

~~Majlis al-nuwwab, see: Majlis shura al-nuwwab.~~

Majlis mashyakhat al-balaḍ. The Council of the village elders. Name of a projected Court for each village, to deal with administrative matters,

Majlis al-nuwwāb, see: Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb.

Majlis shūrā al-nuwwāb, afterwards Majlis al-nuwwāb, the Assembly of Delegates. A body consisting of seventy-five elected members, which advised Ismā'īl on purely internal matters.

Majlis shūrā'l-qawānīn. The Legislative Council, a semi-parliamentary body. See above, part I, ch. V.

Majlis tanzīm al-zirā'a (pl.: Majālis tanzīm al-zirā'a). Council for the organization of agriculture. The name of projected agricultural centres which were to work for improvements in agriculture (1868).

Majlis taftīsh al-zirā'a (pl.: Majālis taftīsh al-zirā'a). Council for supervision of agriculture. The name of projected agricultural committees, composed of specialised officials, having a supervisory capacity in agricultural matters (1869).

Majlis al-wuzarā'. Council of Ministers (Cabinet). Title referring, from Ismā'īl's time, to that group of men who conducted the different Government departments under his supervision. See also above, App. 3.

Makārim al-akhlāq. The Graces of morals, name of a semi-secret society with Panislamic aims. Active chiefly in 1899-1900.

Mas'ūl. Responsible. See also Mas'ūliya.

Mas'ūliya. Responsibility. Occurring as "Ministerial Responsibility" (Mas'ūliya wizāriya) in official documents in Egypt since 1879. Obviously a translation of the European term, probably from the French. See also above, App. 3.

Misr al-fatāt. Name of a society, claiming to be a political party, in 1879-1880. It published a periodical bearing the same name. See also above, part II, ch.III.

Mu'ārada. Opposition. Often used in the meaning of "Parliamentary Opposition", although it originally meant only "setting oneself against".

Mudīr. Government official administering a county or district called mudiriya. In practice, mudīr-s had wide administrative powers.

Mudīriya, see: Mudīr.

Mufattish. Inspector. In Ismā'īl's time, this was the title of the High Inspector of Finances.

Muhtall (pl.: Muhtallūn): Occupationist. This was the name by which those Egyptians supporting the Occupation (Ihtilāl), were described in the propaganda of Al-hizb al-watani (q.v.).

Muqābala. Compensation. The name of a measure introduced in 1871 to redeem half of the land-tax, and thereby pay the floating debt with the proceeds. In exchange for regular title-deeds to their properties, the Egyptian landowners were to pay six years' land tax in advance (in one or six yearly instalments). As only the wealthiest landowners could comply with the measure, it was modified and eventually abolished.

Muqāwama salbiya. Passive resistance. Term used in the manifesto of the Wafd (q.v.) of January 23, 1922, and afterwards.

Mu'tamar waṭanī. National Assembly or Congress (see below, however, Waṭan). Name of the congress which Al-hizb al-waṭanī (q.v.) proposed to convoke yearly. This body was expected to debate the party's policy and elect its boards.

Nizām al-ʿahd. The system of the promise, a system according to which the government leased the taxes to contractors who afterwards mulcted the population.

Qalam (pl.: Aqlām). A section of a department. More often it means a "committee" of the Assembly of Delegates, sometimes used (in this sense) synonymously with Lajna (q.v.). The seventy-five members of that Assembly usually divided into five committees of the sort in the beginning of each session.

Qānūn al-intikhāb, see: Lā'ihat al-intikhāb.

Qānūn khamsat al-afdina. The Five Feddens Law, suggested by Kitchener and debated in the Legislative Assembly in 1914, was intended to defend the property of the small landowners and fallahin.

Qūmisyūn (pl.: Qūmisyūnāt). A sub-commission. Name given also to sub-commissions elected from among the Assembly of Delegates to examine the various problems.

Qūmisyūnāt, see: Qūmisyūn.

Ⲁ Raghabāt, see: Raghba.

Raghba (pl.: Raghabāt). Wish, desire. This was the term used to denote the proposals or suggestions of the Assembly of Delegates.

Ra'īs. President of a body or meeting.

Sha'b. People. Term often used by Al-hizb al-watani (q.v.), when speaking of the Egyptian umma (q.v.).

Shaikh al-Azhar. The Rector of al-Azhar (the theological academy in Cairo). This office is mainly religious and educational.

Shams al-islām. The Sun of Islam. Name of a secret society in Egypt, directed from Constantinople. Flourished about 1899-1900.

Shirkat al-ta'āwun al-zirā'īya. Society for agricultural cooperation. Name of a projected body for the organization of agricultural assistance, debated in the Legislative Assembly in 1914.

Sukhra. Corvée or forced labour.

Thaura. Rising, and by extension, Revolution. A term applied in Egypt to the independence movement after the First World War.

'Umda (pl.: 'Umad). A village mayor. These people had, and still have, great influence.

Umma. Technical term, originally referring to the Muslim community as such. At the end of the nineteenth century it is sometimes used as "nation", most frequently from Muṣṭafā Kāmil's time.

Wafd. Delegation. Afterwards the name of a political party, so called because it formed around the Egyptian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. See above, part II, ch. VI.

Wakīl. Vice-President of a body or organization.

Watan. Originally means one's country, in a strictly local sense. Possibly influenced by its use in Turkish, Watan begins, in the time of the Khedive Ismā'īl, to convey an idea corresponding to the French "patrie". This becomes much more common at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Waqf (pl.: Awqāf). Immovable property, consecrated by the owner to a certain family or organization. In the Ottoman Empire, the Waqf lands were so numerous that a special administration was set up for them. In Egypt, they constituted such a problem, that many reforms in their administration were made from Muḥammad 'Alī's time onwards.

Bibliography.

Abbreviations.

B.S.O.S. - Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.

Con. Rev. - The Contemporary Review.

F.O. - Foreign Office archives, in the Public Record Office in London.

Fort. Rev. - The Fortnightly Review.

M.S.O.S. - Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen.

Nin. Cen. - The Nineteenth Century (and after).

Quar. Rev. - The Quarterly Review.

R.D.M. - Revue des Deux Mondes.

R.M.M. - Revue du Monde Musulman.

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י. מ. לנדאו / דרמה חברתית-חינוכית בערבית

עצם הופעתם של מחברי מחזות מקוריים במצרים מעידה על תסיסה תרבותית, על הצורך לבטא אמיתות חריפות, אשר קשה להקנותן להמונים הנבערים דרך הספרות גרידא. התיאטרון יכול להצליח בסילוקן של דעות נפסדות או בהרחקתם של מנהגים פסולים, מכיון שיש באפשרותו להחדיר דברים לעומקו של הלב. הדרך האמנותית, בה מוגש החומר על הבמה, מסייעת יותר להתרשמותו של בן-האדם הפשוט, אשר אינו יודע תמיד לפנות בדרך נכונה לקריאת ספר; ויש אשר כונת הדבר הנקרא לא תובן, מתוך קושי בתפיסת העיקר. את העיקר הזה מנסה התיאטרון להבליט ביתר בהירות וביתר יעילות. כן מעז התיאטרון, וזאת גם חובתו, לקרב את רעיונות הרפורמות לשלטונות.

הדרמטורגים הערביים חשו בחשיבותו של התפקיד המתקן בתיאטרון. בעיות ציבוריות שונות הועלו בדרמה בשנים האחרונות, ביחוד במצרים. מתוך הענין והויכוחים, שנתעוררו לאחר הופעת אותם המחזות או פרסומם, אפשר לעמוד על חשיבות התיאטרון בשטח התיקון בציבור הערבי. במיוחד ראוי לציין, מבחינת ההכרה הזאת, מחזה בשם "שחר חדש" ("פג'ר ג'דיד"), שהגיע לידינו בשבועות האחרונים.

אצל עמי המערב כבר העלו לא פעם על הבמה את נושא הפרוצה. אולם בתיאטרון הערבי כמעט שלא דנו ברצינות מספקת בבעיה חברתית-חינוכית חשובה זו, אולי מתוך רגש בושה, או מתוך ידיעה מראש, כי דיון זה לא ישנה דבר. וזאת — אף כי הפריצות במצרים נפוצה במידה רבה ומהוה בה שאלה סוציאלית חמורה. גדולה זכותו של ג'מיעי, מחבר המחזה, כי עורר את הבעיה בכל חריפותה והעלה על הבמה את שאלת קיומו של הנגע הזה; ואף מנסה הוא להציע דרכים לסילוקו. יחד עם זאת קורא הוא להסרת התערבות האב בנישואי בנותיו, ומאידך — לתיקון החינוך המיני, אשר העדרו גורם להפרעות בהתפתחותו של הנוער הערבי.

לא במקרה מקדיש עמר ג'מיעי את מחזהו המענין ל"כל מיניסטר לענינים סוציאליים אשר יגשים את רעיון הדרמה הזאת". זהו פרי ביכוריו בשדה הדרמה. מתוך הסתכלות בחיי האשה במערב אירופה, בה קנה את השכלתו הגבוהה, הגיע המחבר, לפי דבריו, להכרה כי עליו לחבר מחזה, שמטרתו להביא את הבעיה בכל חומרתה לפני הציבור, החייב לראות בבירור את סיבות הפריצות, בכדי להגיע לעקירתה. משום כך משתמש הוא באפקטים תיאטראליים, הנראים לו והעלולים להשפיע על הצופה הספציפי — בין אם חונך על ספרות אירופה ובין אם הוא פרימיטיבי למחצה. בדרך מלאכותית במקצת, המושרשת במלודרמה, מגולל ג'מיעי על הבמה את העלילה, לפי נוסח שהיה מודרני לפני דור אחד, בקירוב, כשהופיעו מחזותיו של פיראנדלו. הוא משתמש בתחילת מחזהו בצורת ביום, שאפשר לכנותה "תיאטרון בתוך תיאטרון"; דרך זו מאפשרת לנפשות לשוחח על-אודות התיאטרון וזיקתו לתיקון המידות, — מוטיב נדיר מאד בדרמה הערבית המקורית.

הדרמה נוגעת בסוגיות רבות, הקשורות בחייה של "האשה הסוטה מהדרך", כפי שהמחבר מכנה את הגבורה, אלהאם, ונותן לה הזדמנות של אהבה ואכזבה, נקמה ורחמים, כפית טובה וחרטה, — נימות שמעצבות את נפשה של אשה אוהבת שאינה יכולה להגיע לשלום נפשית. העלילה, הפרושה בשלש מערכות, היא שורה של הפתעות לצופה, המכוונות לגרות את רגשותיו ולסחוט ממנו דמעות חרטה על עוונותיו הוא, בכדי שיוכל למחול גם לאלהאם. בכפר מולדתה, התאהבה אלהאם בבן-כפרה, אהבה אומללה, שלא קבלה את

הסכמת אביה. אוהבה מת, והיא גורשה מביתה, לאחר שקשריה עם אהובה נתבררו להוריה. בעיר הבירה הציל אותה כמאל, עורך-דין וסופר, בשעה שחפצה לאבד את עצמה לדעת. הוא מתאהב בה, אולם היא זונחת אותו, בזמן שהיא מתודעת לשחקן צעיר, שדומה מאד לאהובה הראשון. כמאל מתערב ומסלק את השחקן הצעיר.

המחבר משתמש ברקע הזה, בכדי להוקיע את האם על אשר לא חינכה את בתה ולא הסבירה לה את מהות חיי המין, מטיף מוסר לאב, על שמתערב הוא בחייהן של בנותיו ומשיא אותן לבחיר לבו. הוא מתריס נגד החברה, שהיא מידה אבנים באשה האומללה, הסוטה מהדוך מתוך חוסר ידיעה; וביחוד מתרעם הוא על הממשלה, מכיון שאינה מקרבת את מצב האשה המצרית למצבה של אחותה במערב.

זה הוא נסיון חשוב לעורר את האזרח המצרי, שהגיע לעצמאות לאחר המלחמה האחרונה, לחשוב על הבעיה ולהעריכה. כל כונתו של ג'מיעי היא לתקן, לחנך, שאיפה זו מגבירה את מתיחותו של המחזה, אשר יש בו כדי לשכנע בנחיצות שינוי ערכין ביחס הציבור לאשה. הדרמה המרתקת שמה את נקודת הכובד על העוול הנגרם לאשה בעונש החמור על חטאה. אין המחבר, ממש כמו כמאל גבורו, משלים עם כשלון הקריאה לתיקון חברתי וחינוכי ומקוה הוא להגשמת הרפורמות בענין מניעת הפריצות; ואם כי אינו מציע פתרון, הרי מתאמץ הוא, לפחות, להתוות דרך לחיפוש הפתרון. הדמויות בדרמה מתוארות בקוים ברורים; ואהבתה החבויה והסוערת של אלהאם לאהובה המת רקומה בנימים עדינות. נדמה, כי על אף הקשיים של הצגת המחזה, יכול במאי מוכשר להצליח להעלותו על כל במה ערבית.

ישראל

(כ"א : א' : ז' ט"ו)

מחלקת המחקר והחינוך



בית המדרש הלימודי

י. מ. ג. י.

ממקורות	מקורות	ע' 52 ש' 4
Der	De	ע' 52 ש' 31
דידיה	דידיך	ע' 52 ש' 33
המעלם	המעלים	ע' 53 ש' 32
פריפר, E. R. E.	E. R. E. פריפר	ע' 53 ש' 33
למעלם	למעלים	ע' 54 ש' 3
המעלם	המעלים	ע' 54 ש' 11
יותר	יותר	ע' 54 ש' 25
ואילך. פריפר,	ואילך 874 פריפר,	ע' 54 ש' 35
שבין אבו אלקטט	שבין אלקטט	ע' 55 ש' 33
הוא	או	ע' 56 ש' 2
לדמות לנוכר	הנוכר	ע' 56 ש' 15
yel	vel	ע' 56 ש' 19
תופיק	תאופיק	ע' 57 ש' 33
ה"מחאורה"	ה"מהאודה"	ע' 58 ש' 16
האמריקאית	האמקריאית	ע' 59 ש' 23
בכיר	בקיר	ע' 60 ש' 17
Çeşme	Cesme	ע' 61 ש' 22
(147) שפיו,	(147) 1928. שפיו,	ע' 63 ש' 29
מאלצאן	מאלטצאן	ע' 63 ש' 32, 37
(159)	(157)	ע' 64 ש' 36
כרכוז	כרגוז	ע' 65 ש' 19
אבו	אבן	ע' 65 ש' 25
חאג'יואן	חאג'ואן, חג'יואן	ע' 66 ש' 19, 14, 11, 9, 4
העברים	הערבים	ע' 67 ש' 19
המובא	מובא	ע' 67 ש' 33
ובדרך	ובאופן	ע' 68 ש' 30
E. R. E. = Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics	להוסיף:	ע' 70 ש' 18
Orientalistische צ"ל	Orientalische במקום	ע' 71 ש' 45
Seybold	Selbold	ע' 72 ש' 26

ושל מחזות-הבובות. 2. אולם קשה להשתכנע מהרמזים שמצאו חוקרים שונים בטכסט הבודהיסטי "תרי ג'אתא" ("שירי הנזירות") וב"מהא-בהארטה", באחד מספריו של האסטרונום-האסטרוולוג ואראהא מיהירא ובמקורות אחרים. אין להחליט בודאות, כי הכונה שם ל"מחזות צללים" ממש. 3. בדומה, אין הידיעות המועטות על סוג זה של פולקלור בצילון מקנות מושג ברור בנוגע למציאות מחזות צללים קדומים באותו אי.

אף כי תוכנם של סיפורי מחזות הצללים ביאווה הוא קדום, הרי הוא ידוע לכל איש היטב, ואף לתינוקות מספרים מעשיות אלו כבר בשחר ילדותם. 4. מכאן אפיו העממי יותר של תיאטרון הצללים ביאווה, בה בשעה שמבקרי תיאטרון זה בין הערבים דורשים לעתים קרובות דוקא מחזות בעלי תוכן חדש, שטרם היו שגורים בפי כל. מחזה הצללים ביאווה מושפע בנושאו ובתוכנו מהודו. מענין במיוחד, כי מצוי המוטיב ההודי המיסטי, המשווה את כל פרשת חיינו בעולם הזה ל"משחק צללים". רעיון הודי אפייני זה נדד גם לארצות אחרות. 5. תיאטרון-הצללים ביאווה מתאר את חייהם של האלים והמלכים, הגבורים והקדושים מימי-קדם. בזאת שונה הוא מתיאטרון הצללים בערבית, אשר אפיו ריאליסטי ביותר. הדמיון בין שניהם הוא בסמליות שבמחזות המעבירים לפנינו בצורה תמציתית וברמזים פרשה מהחיים עם כל מעלותיהם ומגרעותיהם.

ה"ואג'אנג", כפי שנקרא מחזה הצללים ביאווה, טבוע ביסוד השקפתם הדתית של בני יאווה ורווי גם בשירה משובצת בסמלים נראים לעין. דת ואמונות משולבים יחדיו. 6. בתפקידו הדתי, מזכיר ה"ואג'אנג" את הפולחן בכנסיה הקתולית. אמנם בזו האחרונה שואפים להתקרב לאלהות; אך גם ב"ואג'אנג" וגם במחזה הצללים בכלל — ואף זה מוטיב עממי במקומות רבים — מבחינים בתשוקה לפייס את הכוחות המאגיים, כמו העין הרעה. יש לזכור כי המאגיה קשורה עם היסוד הרגשי של הפחד מפני הצל, ואין ספק כמעט, שהיה יסוד מאגי במחזה הצללים הקדום. למחקרנו חשובה הבנת הדברים הללו במיוחד, מכיון שבני יאווה הם מוסלמים וחיבבו מאד מחזות צללים עד הדור האחרון.

מחזה הצללים בסיאם מושפע מהודו ומיאווה, אף כי תבניותיו מותוות גם בחותם עצמאי נאה מבחינת סגנון. 7. ידיעות מסויימת רומזות ע"ד התפתחותו העצמאית של תיאטרון הצללים בסיין ותבניות הצללים הסיניות מראות באפיין הכללי קרבה לתבניות הידועות לנו ממחזות צללים איסלאמיים שונים. 8. היתה

(2) השוה פישל, 1900, ובקורת הרמן רייך ב-D. L. Z., 1904, ע' 600 ואילך.
(3) השוה G. d. S., ע' 5-8, בהם הוא בא לידי פולמוס עם כמה אינדולוגים, מבלי לשכנע בדבריו. (4) האגימאן, ע' 154-155. (5) G. d. S., ע' 18-9; ועוד.
(6) האגימאן, ע' 149-161. תמונות של מריוניטות ביאווה ראה בספר החשוב הנקרא Wajang Poerwa בהוצאת Srijks Ethnographisch Museum.
(7) ראה מאמרו המעניין של ד. סונקול 1947. (8) ראה האגימאן, ע' 444-452.

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ד'רשניא ד'מלכות

מסורת שקשרה, כנראה, את ראשית תיאטרון הצללים בסין דוקא, ובפי בני אירופה נקרא תיאטרון הצללים זמן ממושך בשם „Les Ombres chinoises“.

תיאטרון הצללים והאיסלאם

חשוב יותר לציין עדות אחת — יחידה, לעת-עתה, ורבת-ערך — בדבר המגע בין תיאטרון הצללים הסיני ועולם האיסלאם. זוהי עדותו של ההיסטוריון הפרסי ראשיד אלדין (מת בשנת 1318 לספירה), אשר חיבורו, הנמצא בכתב-יד עדיין, ידוע לי רק מכלי שני. הוא מספר כי לחצרו של אוגוטי (1227—1241 לספירה), בנו של הכובש הנודע ג'ינגיז ח'אן, באה להקת שחקנים מסין, שהציגה מאחורי וילון מחזות מופלאים, בהם הופיעו טיפוסים עממיים מכל הסוגים. בין אלה הובא גם איש בא בימים בעל זקן לבן ועל ראשו תרבוש הקשור בזנב סוס; הזקן הזה נסחב על הארץ ופניו מתחבטים בקרקע⁹. החשוב בכל התיאור הזה הוא, שלפנינו עדות על מגע, ולו גם מגע מקרי, — כיון שאוגוטי שואל שאלות, הנראות לי כמאשרות את ההשערה, שצופה הוא לראשונה במחזות מסוג זה — בין להקת שחקני-צללים לבין המוסלמים. יתכן מאד כי מגע זה נעשה באמצעותם של המוני-גולים, אשר, אם כי לא היו המתווכים הראשונים בהעברת תיאטרון הצללים מהמזרח הרחוק לעולם האיסלאם, הרי היו, על-כל-פנים, מתווכים חשובים¹⁰.

יסודו של משחק הצללים אצל המוסלמים הוא החיקוי של תופעות החיים — התנהגות האנשים ודרך דיבורם. משחק מימיקה היה קיים לא רק ביוון, אלא גם במזרח, ואף בזמנים קדומים. יסודות מימיים היו מצויים בחגיגות עתיקות אף אצל הבבלים והפרסים. מסתבר, אף כי ההנחה טרם הוכחה די צרכה, כי מימיקה היתה גם בחגיגות שונות אצל היהודים, בעיקר בפורם¹¹. כבר בזאת אפשר לראות, כי המימוס וחיקוייו היו מצויים גם במזרח הקרוב או בסביבותיו.

מיו מנסה להסביר כיצד הגיעו הערבים לחקות את דרך הדיבור. הוא מניח כי העברת המסורות (חדית'ים) בדיוק נמרץ כללה כבר בקרבה יסוד קומי, האומר: „חקני!“¹². כך נתעוררה גם הנטיה לייחס מימרות מזויפות לאישים מפורסמים, תוך חיקוי סגנונם המיוחד. מאידך גיסא, היה מספר גדול של דיאלקטים ערביים ובערים — בהן נפגשו אנשים מסוגים שונים ובעלי מוצא שונה — היה אפשר להרגיש בהבדלים מעוררי צחוק בין דרכי הביטוי השונות. ספרות התקופה העבאסית השאירה לנו גם מספר דוגמאות של מימיקה („חאכיה“), שאינה שונה בהרבה מהמימיקה של ימינו, ובעיקר מזאת השגורה במחזות הצללים¹³.

(9) G. d. S., ע' 18 ואילך. עונש זה סימל את עונשו של מורד, והנהגתו ידועה לנו מהחיים ומהאגדה של עמים שונים. (10) השוה סברת יעקוב בענין המונגולים, שם, ע' 20, לדברי יעקוב ג' 1901, ע' 6. בקורת: פישל ב' D.L.Z., 1902, ע' 403; ה. רייך, שם, 1904, ע' 598 ואילך. (11) השוה הורוביץ, 1905, ע' 16—17. (12) השוה בין השאר אדם מיו, בהקדמתו ל-Abulqasim, ביחוד ע' 15—16 והורוביץ, 1903, ע' 18—21. (13) על היסוד המימי שבמאקאמה עמד גם הורוביץ, שם, ע' 21—27.

צורה שניה, אשר יש בה מימיקה, היא ה"מקאמה", אשר גם בה בולט חיקוי של טיפוסים רבים, שונים האחד מרעהו. אמנם במקאמה חשוב יותר הגורם האמנותי-ספרותי מאשר בחאמיה, וכן מעריכים התחכמויות לשוניות יותר מאשר חיקויים מוצלחים. גישה זאת מקטינה את הריאליות של המקאמה¹³. נדמה, כי מלאכת המספרים העממיים, ה"מדאח" התורכי וה"חכואתי" הערבי, שהיה בהם הרבה מהמימיקה, קדמה בדרמטיות שלה לתיאטרון הצללים¹⁴.

מכאן, כי במזרח הערבי נמצאו יסודות דרמטיים, אולם אלה לא נתגבשו עד התקופה החדשה לצורה מיוחדת במינה בעלת טכניקה קבועה. משום זאת, המשיכו להתקיים במזרח המוסלמי, ואצל הערבים בכלל זה, מימים יוונים ודרכי מימיקה יווניות, שתרמו את תרומתם בהשפעה על המימיקה הערבית. התורכים באו במגע עם אנשי ביוזן עוד הרבה לפני נפילתה של קושטא, ולאחר שכבשו עיר זאת, ירשו מהביוזנינים גם את המימוס. קאראג'וז מראה הרבה תוי דמיון למימוס ההלני, כפי שרייך הוכיח זאת בבקאות ובחריפות¹⁵.

גם כיום חביבה המימיקה על הערבים. לפני המלחמה העולמית הראשונה היה חי בקהיר אחמד פאחים אלפאר, שהיה אהוב מאד על הקהל בזכות כשרונו לחקות את קולותיהם של העופות והחיות, וביחוד לתת תמונות מהחיים בהרמון ובכפר. אחמד אלפאר זה, הידוע בכינויו אבן ראביה, היה עובד יחד עם להקה בת שנים-עשר גברים, שהציגו גם בתפקידי נשים. הפארסות שלו לא היו נקיות מניבול-פה והיו אהובות מאד על הקהל. חביב היה גם עלי-באבא, שהיה מגשם בהופעתו את דמות האיכר-המוקיון המטומטם¹⁶. כי המימיקה היתה חביבה, וכנראה עודנה חביבה גם עתה, על התורכים — מצויות עדויות רבות כגון מכתביו של הארטמאן אל פליישר בראשית שנת 1876. המימיקה, האהובה על הערבים, עודדה את התפתחות תיאטרון הצללים בין הערבים והקלה על השתרשותו בקרבם, ביחוד במצרים.

עד המאה השנים-עשרה, כפי הנראה, כמעט שלא היה תיאטרון הצללים ידוע למוסלמים. קוראים אנו לעתים קרובות על-אודות ה"סמר" — בילוי-הלילה — של החאליפים, ולו היו אלה מכירים את תיאטרון הצללים, היו בודאי מזכירים אותו. יתר-על-כן, תיאטרון הצללים דורש סוג מיוחד של אמנות דרמטית, אשר התפתחות התרבות הערבית, בצביונה המיוחד לה, לא היתה נוחה ליצירתו. תיאטרון הצללים אצל הערבים היה יכול להיווצר ולהתפתח רק בהשפעה מזרחית;

14 יעקוב הוציא לאור חוברת קטנה בשם Aus den Vorträgen eines türkischen Meddah, ברלין, 1900. לאחר זאת פרסם, בהרחבה יותר, Vorträge für türkischer Meddah's, ברלין, 1904, עיין גם 1905, פאולוס. ראה חומר ביבליוגרפי Der Islam, 4, 1913, עי' 131—130, 1936, Saussey, עי' 74—73.
15 1903, רייך, 1, עי' 202, ועי' 622 ואילך. במימיקה היוונית ושרידיה במזרח הקרוב עסק גם הרוביין, 1905. ראה למשל עי' 27—29: 16 רייך, 1, 667, הערה 1; עיין גם פריפר, ערך "Drama Arabic", 3—872, (1911), ERE.
17 Z.D.M.G., 30, 1876, עי' 159 והשוה גם עי' 168.

ותקופה עשירה בהשפעות מזרחיות היא תקופת הסלג'וקים. אחרי רמז מענין באחד מספריו של אבן-חזם¹⁸, מזכירים פעמים מספר במאה השתים-עשרה והשלש-עשרה את "ח'יאל אלט'יל", הכנוי הערבי למחזה הצללים¹⁹. מתוך ידיעות אלו מתברר קיומו של תיאטרון הצללים, אף כי חסרים פרטים על-אודותיו. בפרסית יתכן כי עמר ח'ייאם כיון למחזה הצללים בהשוותו — ממש כפי שראינו זאת בהודו וביאווה — את "פאנוס-י-ח'יאל" (אולי פנס תיאטרון הצללים) ו-"טשרח-פלכ" ("גלגל העולם")²⁰. בבירור יותר ציין זאת ניט'אמי, בספרו "כתאב מח'זון אל'אסראר"²¹. הוכחות אחרות מצויות בדברי ואג'יה אלדין צ'יא אבן עבד אלכרים אלמנאוי, שחי במאה השלש-עשרה. חרוזים מיוחדים לו הובאו ע"י עלא אלדין עלי אבן עבד אללה אלבהאי אלגזולי (מת בשנת 1412 לספירה) באנתולוגיה שלו. הנקראת "מטאלע אלכדור פי מנאזל אלסרור"²². אבן-חג'יה מספר בחיבורו "ת'מראת אל'אוראק", כי צלאח אלדין הזמין להקת שחקנים להציג לפניו מחזה צללים²³. גם אלמאקריזי מזכיר את ח'יאל אלט'יל²⁴. בכל-אופן, הריני מרשה לעצמי לחלוק על דברי יעקוב²⁵. החושב את דברי אלמאקריזי בטלים מעיקרם. אמנם נכון הדבר, כי אלמאקריזי חי זמן ניכר אחרי המאורעות, אשר אותם הוא מתאר. אולם דא עקא, שאלמאקריזי העתיק חלק הגון מדבריו מתוך מקורות, שנכתבו ממש בתקופה אשר אותה תיאר, וזאת — גם מבלי להזכיר את מקורותיו.

מחזותיו של אבן דאניאל

מחזה הצללים הראשון בערבית שהגיע לידינו חובר בידי מוחמד אבן-דאניאל, אשר יצירתו נחקרה בידי יעקוב²⁶. רופא מצרי זה (מת בשנת 1131 לספירה) חיבר שלשה מחזות צללים בשירה ובפרוזה חרוזה, — השרידים היחידים של שימוש בשירה לחיבור הצגה, שנשארו לנו מהתרבות הערבית בימי-הביניים. מיצירתו של אבן דאניאל נשארו שלושה כתבי יד ויעקוב הצליח לקבוע, כמעט ללא-היסוס, את זמנם לימי שלטונו של אלמלכ אלט'אהר ביבארס (1277 — 1260 לספירה) ודוקא לאחר שנת 1267²⁷. יתכן מאד כי אבן איאס העתיק, בתארו את

(18) השוה אבן חזם, "כתאב אל'אחילאק ואלטיאר פי מודאואה אלנופוס", קהיר, דפוס אלסעאדה. ע' 28. מקומו של רמז זה, המדמה את העולם לחיאל אלט'יל — מוטיב אשר כבר ציינו אותו — שייך למאה ה"א והוא העדות הקדומה החשובה היחידה מספרד המוסלמית. עיין גם ח'יט, 1943, ע' 690, הערה 3. (19) על הכתיב של המונח הזה השוה הערתו של יעקוב ל-Türkische Bibliothek, כרך 10, ברלין, 1909, ע' 143. (20) השוה G. d. S., ע' 28—29. (21) הוצאת נתנאל בלאנד, לונדון, 1846, חרוזים 78 ו-1143 ואילך. (22) כרך 1, קהיר, 1299 להגירה, ע' 261, שורות 18—22; השוה גם שורה 10 — אשר בה, סבורני, הכונה איננה לחיאל אלט'יל. (23) השוה G. d. S., ע' 30—33. (24) השוה שם, ע' 23—24 והוסף "אלח'יטאט", כרך ב', ע' 51 שורות 18—20. (25) G. d. S., שם. (26) Keleti Szemle, II, 1901, ע' 76—77; גם בכרך א', שם, 1900, ע' 233—236, טיפל יעקוב בתיאטרון הצללים. (27) השוה G. d. S., ע' 34—38. (28) השוה דבריו של קאהלי, הטעונים עוד בירור, במאמרו "חיאל אלט'יל פי

תקופת ביברס, קטעים ניכרים ממחזה הצללים הראשון של אבן דאניאל „טיף אלח'יאל“²⁸.

שלושת המחזות נועדו להיות מועלים על הבמה: בהקדמה נותן המחבר לאחד מחבריו, שהמריצו לעבודה זו, עצות אחדות בדבר הבימוי והבאת המחזה לפני קהל נבחר. הפרוזה החרוזה שובצה בקטעי שירה שנועדו להיזמר. אחרי הפרולוג, המראה הבנה לבעיותיה של במת מחזות הצללים, קורא המנהל — „אלראיס“: „יא טיף אלח'יאל, יא כאמל אלאעתדאל!“ („הוי, רוח הדמיון, הוי מושלם הפרופורציה!“). דברים אלה נאמרים באירוניה (בלשון סגיינהור), היות והתבנית המופיעה מראה גיבן בעל מומים גופניים רבים. החטוטרת היא הנושא לשירו הבא של „אלראיס“: הוא מהלל את חטוטרת הגמל, אשר בין כתפיו יושבות נשים נאות; גיבן הוא הנבל, עליו יפרטו זמירות; האניה שטה בימים ומתגברת על הסערות רק בזכות החטוטרת שלה; מחפש האכסיר („אבן החכמים“) מכונה גם הוא גיבן (אחדב), כיון שמרבה הוא להתכופף על עבודתו.

אותו „טיף אלח'יאל“ עונה בזגיל טווי מהקדמות תודה, כדרך משחקי הצללים אצל התורכים כיום. אחר הבעת תודה לקהל שנתאסף ואמירת שבחים לאלהים ולמוחמד, בא תורה של התפילה לשלומו של הסולטאן. מיד אחר הפתיחה הזאת ממשיך המדבר, בפרוזה חרוזה, להזפיע על שומעיו אמרות חכמה, רוויות בהומור. למשל, מספר הוא על התענוג שבשתיית יין ובגמיעת סמים משכרים. גם הוא היה מתמסר לזאת אך חזר בתשובה לאחר שובו למצרים ומצאו שם שינוי ערכין גמור, בזאת שהאנשים כבר לא שתו יין (בפקודת השלטונות). הוא הוזמן לבית חברו המתנצל לפניו על המחסור השורר בביתו, בנימוק כי מתאבל הוא על אבו מרה; זה האחרון אינו אלא השטן והם מקוננים עליו.²⁹

אחר סיום הקינה, משיח טיף אלח'יאל את צערו על פרידתו מאחיו האמיר וצאל; לאחר פרידתו החל לשוטט בעולם. אז קורא הכרוז („רסיל אלח'יאל“) לאמיר וצאל. מופיע חייל מקושט ומציג את עצמו בתור אבי החטאים ובתור בעל „דבוס“, אבר-המין. פירוש המלה „דבוס“ הוא, בדרך כלל, „אלה“ (או: מקל, סיכה), והסבר זה אפשר למצוא במרבית המלונים. עד היום נקרא בטונים האיש המניע את תבניות מחזה הצללים במקלו, בשם „אבו דבוס“.³⁰ כזה הוא

אלקטר אלמצריי ב„אלאדאב ואלפאן“, שנה ראשונה, חוברת רביעית, 1944, ע' 63 מן הראוי לציין כי הראשון ששם לב, עד כמה שהתברר לי, להזכרתו של חיאל אלטיל בכתבי אבן איאס היה מ. קואטרמיר, בתרגומו הצרפתי לספרו של אלמקריזי, בשם *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte*, פריס 1837, כרך א', חלק א', ע' 152—153. עוד נראה להלן כי אבן איאס מאשר את קיומו של חיאל אלטייל במצרים, אולם אינו מוסר דבר על אודותיו. G. d. S. (29), ע' 38—42; ועוד. (30) 1914, פליגל, כרך 2, ע' 10—11. ראה, בכל אופן, הצורה בה נזכר הכינוי הזה אצל רייד, 1903, כרך 1, חלק 2, ע' 649, בהערה 2 — והמקור המובא שם לגבי „אבן דבוס“ בטונים. (31) השוה, למשל,

המובן "דבוס" גם בתורכית, בצורת טפוז או טופוז (כיום טופוז, וכן גם ברומ-גית 31). אולם בערבית המדוברת במצרים יהיה מובנה גם אבר-המין של הזכר. 32. לדעת הורוויץ, מזכירה דמות זו את נושא ה"פאלוס" בפארסה היוונית, ואנא-לוגיה זו מראה כבר את קשרו של תיאטרון הצללים הערבי עם המימוס היווני הפאלי 33.

בשורה ארוכה של השוואות מתאר וצאל את תאווותיו הנסתרות ואת תכונותיו. הוא קורא למזכירו תאג' באבוג' (נדמה לי, כי עצם הכינוי הזה מעורר גיחוך; מכיון שפירוש "תאג'" הוא "כתר" ואילו "באבוג'" — נעלי-בית; ויש כאן צירוף היקר ביותר עם הזול ביותר בתוך שם של בן-אדם אחד); והלה קורא תעודה, שאינה אלא פרודיה על דרך כתיבתם של המזכירים, עם קישוטיה הרבים. לאחר-זאת, שוב לפי בקשת טיף אלח'יאל, קורא המזכיר קצידה רוויה אף היא הומור על דרך הפרודיה.

לאחר כמה סצינות אחרות, מתחיל המחזה הראשון. הרקע הוא על נושא רגיל בספרות העממית ואח"כ גם בדרמה במזרח המוסלמי. הכוונה לחתונה מפוארת, אשר אחריה מגלה החתן בזועה, כי הכלה, אשר קסמיה שובחו בפי השד-כנית, מתועבת במראה החיצוני. עתה חפץ האמיר וצאל לשאת אשה. קוראים לסרסורית לדבר עבירה אום רשיד אלקואדה. זו מתארת את קסמיה של צעירה אחת. כאשר הסכימו בענין זה, נושא המקונן את "הקינה" הרוויה הומור (מנהג המזכיר לנו בהרבה את "קינת" הבדחן בחתונות יהודיות). מדבריו מתגלה, כי האמיר התרושש 34. כשהחתן מסיר את הצעיף מעל הכלה, לאחר החתונה, מתגלה כי היא מפלצת: "אפה דומה להר, שפתיה כמו שפתי-גמל, צבעה כזה של חרק הרובץ באשפה". בחמתו, מכה החתן באלתו סביבו, ללא הבחנה. הוא מאיים במלקות על בעלה של הסרסורית, שיח' עפלק 35 ומצוה לסחוב את הסרסורית עצמה בעיר, לאות קלון, עד למותה. וצאל נפרד מאת טיף אלח'יאל ומחליט לעלות לרגל לחג'אז, כדי לכפר על חטאיו ע"י ביקור במקומות הקדושים 36.

החלק השני מיצירתו של אבן דאניאל נקרא "עג'יב וגריב". במחזה הצללים הזה מופיעה שורה שלמה של דמויות ריאליסטיות, המזכירות את גבוריו של אלח'ירי. חיי השוק, בשפע המתואר פה, משמשים חומר לידיעת הציויליזציה

1899, יונסקורג'יון 1, ע' 397, ע' 555 וע' 746. (32) 1897, וליירס, ע' 307—306. (33) השוה הורוביץ, 1905, ע' 29. עיין אל-אודות הפאלוס בערך "Phallos" ב-RE, כרך 38, 1938, ע' 1748—1681, וביבליוגרפיה שם. בקשר בין המימוס התורכי והיוני עסק רייך, 1903, — ראה על זאת גם פאולוס, 1905, ההקדמה, ע' 5 ואילך. (34) בלשון גופל על לשון:

مال المال و حال المجال و ذهب الزهب و فاضت الفضة و سلب السلب

(35) פירוש השם "עפלק" הוא "שמן ורך" וגם "הזדחנות מינית" — השוה לסאן אלערב, ערך "עפלק". שני הפירושים מתאימים לדרך, בה מתאר אבן דאניאל את טיפוס הזה. (36) עיין G. d. S., ע' 50—42. ראה גם הורוביץ, 1906, ע' 703.

הערבית באותם הימים. שפע הטיפוסים הוא כה רב, עד שאין לחשוב, כי אבן-דאניאל יצר את כולם, אלא בוודאי מצא גם מן המוכן. המחזה מתחיל בהוראות לדרך ההצגה ובחרוזים, שנועדו למשוך את הקהל. מענין, שגם בתוך המחזה מצויות הוראות ורמזים לבמאי ולשחקנים.³⁷

נכנס גריב, אחד מה"גרפא", הנוסעים מלאי העומה; הוא מגשם את מעמדם של בני סאסאן.³⁸ בני סאסאן בקראו כך, כביכול, על שמו של סאסאן, בן-המלך הפרסי האגדי באהמאן, שהרבה לנדוד בעוני רב. למעשה, היו בני סאסאן ברובם ארצי-פרחי ובחלקם אנשים מאותו הטיפוס שאינם יכולים לדור במקום אחד.³⁹ גריב מתאונן על הימים הטובים, שחלפו. הוא נזכר בצער בזמן, בו היה שומע גגינה והיה שותה יין, ומתפלל הוא לאללה, כי יחזיר כל נכרי לארצו. גריב מתאר את מצבם האומלל של כל הנודדים מארצם לשוקים זרים ומספר כיצד הוא ואחיו נאלצו לאחוז באומנויות ומלאכות מכל המינים, כדי להוציא מהאנשים את כספם — והוא מביא דוגמאות משעשעות. כך למד דרכי ערמה שונות ומדעים שונים: תיאולוגיה ומשפט, ספרות ושירה; בעזרת הפילוסופיה הצליח להפיץ בדיות. כפי שחאג'יואד במחזות הצללים התורכיים משמש השלמה לכרגו, כך משלים כאן עגיב את דמותו של גריב. עגיב אלדין אלואעט', היינו "המטיף בעל הדת המופלאה", מהלל את אללה בזכות היותו בורא פרי הגפן; ובנאום ההטפה שלו, מלאי-האירוניה, קורא הוא לכל מקבצי הנדבות להרבות לאסוף כסף, ובמוזמנים דוקא.⁴⁰

נוסף להם מופיעים טיפוסים עממיים שונים מהחיים היום-יומיים — ביחוד בני-אדם המכריזים על סחורתם המשונה (נושא חביב בתיאור כל שוק ברחבי העולם) — והתנהגותו והבעתו של כל אחד מתוארים בקיצור, אך בקוהן האופייניים: (א) מהפנט נחשים, הבקי ברפואות לנעקצים ע"י נחשים ארסיים. (ב) רופא מיני מחלות משונות, הרוקח בעצמו את התרופות מסמים "יקרים" ודורש במחירן רק תמר או מלפפון. (ג) מוכר עשבי מרפא, הטוען בחרוזים ובפרוזה, כי לכל מחלה מתאים עשב-מרפא. (ד) מנתח רופא-עינים, המתפאר בכשרונותיו ורומז כי יוכל לרפא גם עורים, אף שיקרה כי גם ישלול מפכחים את ראייתם. ה', ו') אקויליבריסט המסתובב ומעוות את גופו ואח"כ עולה בכפות רגליו על חודי-חרבות; וה"מעלם" שלו. ז' ח') עושה להטים ועוזרו, המראים את יכלתם בשינוי מהות הדברים, הוצאת מטבעות זהב מהפה או חיבור מפליא של שרשרת אשר חוליותיה נתפרדו. ט) אסטרולוג, המכריז על יכלתו לקבוע את הנסתרות. י) "מכשף" סוחר בקמיעות מהלל את כוחם המרפא והמגן אשר לקמיעותיו. לפתע מופיע יא) נער נגוע בחלי-

(37) הושה יעקוב, 1910, ע' 3-6. (38) עיין שם, ע' 5; הושה, G. d. S. ע' 50-51. (39) על בני סאסאן: הורוביץ, 1905, ע' 23-27 ומקורות בהערה 1 בע' 23. ראה גם שוואלי, 1912, ע' 31. י. ה. קראמרס ב" E. d. I., ערך Sasan. (40) הושה יעקוב, 1910, ע' 6-12; הושה גם נאום ההטפה של עגיב, מלאי-הלצות, כפי שתורגם לגרמנית ע"י יעקוב, 1913, ע' 67-71. (41) ראה יעקוב, 1910, ע' 12-26.

הנופלים, והמכשף מרפאו ותופס את "הדיבוק" שבתוכו — בין אם הוא דיבוק יהודי ובין אם הוא נוצרי — ומכניסו לתוך תיבה מלאה משחת-עיניים, שאותה הוא קובר. יב) מקיזת דם, על כל מכשיריה⁴¹. קרוב לודאי, כי היא מיצגת דוקא רקדנית צועניה, החוררת קישוטי קעקע בבשר הנשים, טיפוס מצוי בקהיר בדור האחרון⁴².

עתה מופיעה שורה שלממה של מאלפי-חיות, המציגים האחד אחר רעהו את חיותיהם או עושים בעזרתן מעשי נפלאות או מעשי-קונדס. ואלה הם: מאלף-האריות; מאלף-הפילים; איש-הפלאות, המראה את גמישות התישים שלו; "אבן-אלקטט", דמות עממית, המנסה להשכין שלום בין החתולים והעכברים; מאלף-הכלבים, המרקיד את כלביו; מאלף-דובים; הסודאני נאתו שר שיר לא ברור ביותר, — אולי בכונה, כדי להראות על בערותם של הסודאנים; איש הבולע חדיי-כידונים ודברים אחרים, אך רומז לקהל, כי יבלע ביתר רצון את מתנותיו, מאשר את כלי-הנשק החדים; בעל-הקופים, המראה את חכמת קופיו וגמישותם⁴³; הרקדן על החבל, אשר נתלה על החבל בבוהן רגלו בלבד, ובאותה שעה תורם לו הקהל כסף. שמו של הרקדן הוא "ות'אב", כלומר, קפיצה; נראה לי, שיש לקרוא באותו מקום בכתב-היד דוקא "ואת'אב", ו"א "קפצן".

הטיפוסים האחרונים הם בן-אדם שפצע את עצמו וחיבל קשות בבשרו, מכיון שסבל יסורי-אהבה קשים, מבלי יכולת להתנחם; נושא גחלי אש, השר קצידה המכוונת גם לנוצרים וגם ליהודים⁴⁴. אחרון הוא נוהג הגמלים, המתפלל לאלהים כי יאפשר לו ולמאמינים לעלות לרגל למכה. גאריב מסיים באפילוג קצר⁴⁵. כל אחד מהשחקנים מאפיין את עצמו בקריאות ותנועות מתאימות לו. רק מקצת שמות הטיפוסים הללו אינם מובנים לנו, והם חלק משפת סתרים (אולי קשורה לצוענית) של השחקנים⁴⁶. אולם רוב השמות ברורים בהחלט ומעוררים גיחוך הן בהתאמתם לתפקיד והן בהיותם מנוגדים לו, באירוניה. ב"עג'יב וגריב" מצטיין אבן דאניאל במיוחד, לא רק בהכרת הרופאים השונים, חבריו למקצוע, אלא גם בידיעה מעמיקה של נטיות שאר בני-האדם והליכותיהם.

המחזה השלישי נקרא "אלמותואם" ("המוכה באהבתו") ופותח בהסברת סוג הברכה שיש לברך כאשר מוזמן מישוהו לחברת גדולי הדור. אח"כ שירי-אהבה, הרומזים על הרזון שגרם הדכאון לבן-אדם. אלמתואם הוא בן-אדם שנטבח

(42) עיין בקרתו של קאהלי על יעקוב, O. L. Z., 1910, כרך 15, 1912, בעיקר ע' 325—329. (43) על-אודות אחדים מגלגוליה של דמות הקאראד — נוהג הקופים — ראה מאמריהם של א. גריפי, ג. יעקוב, פ. קאהלי, וא. ליטמאן ב-"Der Islam", כרך 5, שנת 1914, ע' 93—106. (44) יעקוב, 1910, ע' 41—24. אין זה מן הנמנע, כי אבן-דאניאל לא היה ממוצא מוסלמי, לפי שמו ולפי ענינו ביהודים ובנוצרים וידיעותיו הרבות באמונותיהם ובמנהגיהם. (45) שם, ע' 41—42. כן G. d. S., ע' 54—51. השוה תיאור השוק בדמשק ע"י ויטצשטיין, 1857, ע' 525—475, ותיקונים בע' 744. (46) קאהלי, 1926, חקר את אוצר המלים המיוחד לאנשים העוסקים בחיבור מחזות

בלי סכין. אחרי שהנואם מברך את הקהל שבא לצפות במחזה, מתאר הוא כיצד איבד את לבו. מופיע ננס, השואל שאלות מוזרות ומעוררות גיחוך, ביחוד בנוגע למאכלים שונים⁴⁷, ועל דבריו אלה "מברכו" אלמתאואם בנדיבות רבה. שוב יד האהבה על העליונה ושוב שומעים סיפור הרפתקאות אהבה ושיר ארוטי.

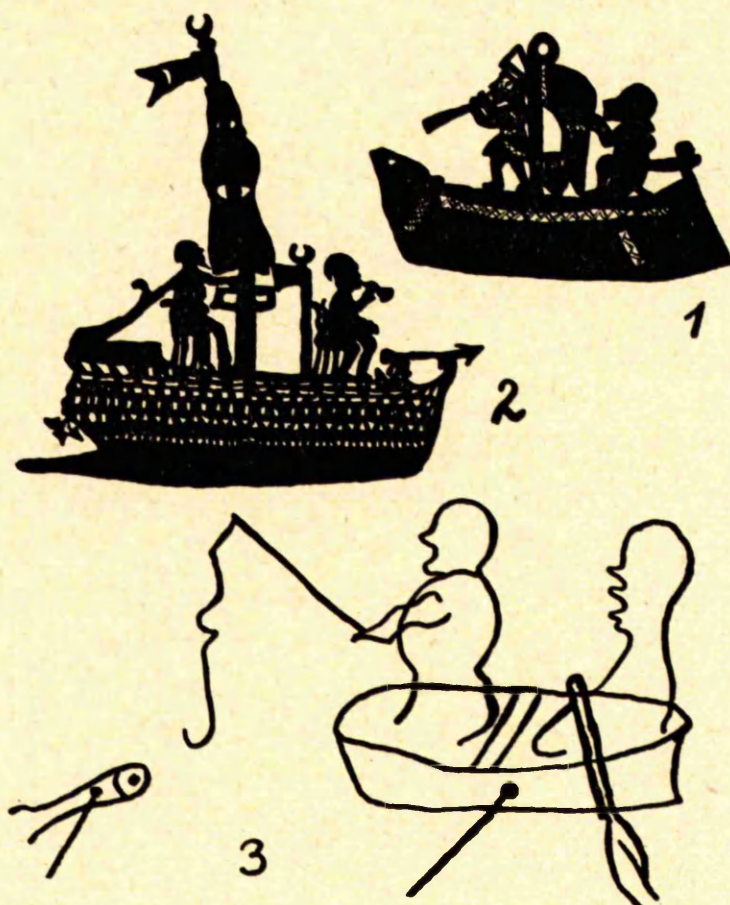
משרתה רב ההשפעה של האהובה, אלבאבא בידם, (זהו גם שמו של המשרת הארמני במחזות הצללים בתורכית), בא ומבשר כי הצליח לתאר את אלמתאואם בפני בעלה של האהובה בתור ראוי לאמונה, רם היחס ורב הנסיון בציד. אלמתאואם רוקד ושר מרוב שמחה. מחליטים לערוך מלחמת תרנגולים והשופט לוקח ערבונות משני בעלי התרנגולים; משבח הוא את אללה על כי הכניס בתרנגול רוח להודיע על השתנות הזמנים. מודיע הוא אח"כ על כללי מלחמת התרנגולים.

לאחר זאת מחליטים לערוך מלחמת אילים, וקוראים שוב לשופט. גם אלמתאואם וגם יריבו שרים כל אחד שיר שבח לאילו, אלא ששירו של אלמתאואם הוא פרודיה על שיר יריבו. אמו של היריב מתפללת לנצחון איל בנה ושלומו. לאחר נאום נוסף של השופט, מתחיל קרב האילים, ואיל אלמתאואם מנצח. גם בזאת אין המערכה מסתיימת, מכיון שאלמתאואם ויריבו מהללים כל אחד את השור שלו, וניגשים שוב למערכה של קרב שורים. שוב נואם השופט נאום פילוסופי רווי-הומור על-אודות המלחמה ותמורותיה ומעלותיה. שורו של אלמתאואם ניגף, ואדוניו מקונן עליו ועל הצער שהסב לו ומצוה לקצבים ולפושטי העור לטפל בו. אחרי שטובחים את השור ומבשלים אותו, מכינים ממנו מטעמים ומתחילים בסעודה, לאחר שממלאים את האולם בריחות ניחוח⁴⁸.

לקטע הבאי אין קשר עם קודמו. יריבו של אלמתאואם אינו מופיע כלל, כי אם נכנסים לסעודה אנשים שונים, המסמלים—בשמותיהם, בהתנהגותם ובדבריהם—הבעת חטאים שונים או טיפוסים פתולוגיים ידועים. הם נופלים שתויים, איש אחר רעהו. ביניהם: איש שטוף בתענוגות-בשרים; גבר שמן, האוהב זמרה ויין; היפוכו של הקודם — צעיר דק-הגזרה, הישן רק מחוץ לבית וממעיט בשתייה; גבר "בעל אחריות", המתערב בכל ריב ומתנשא להכריע בכל דבר משא-ומתן; איש חולה; גבר הנוטה לאוננות; בן-אדם המתגנב למיטת ילדים זרים, מוציאם בשקט מזרועות הוריהם ומספק בהם את תאוותו.

כדאי לציין במיוחד את שני האורחים האחרונים: האחד הוא טופילי, — כשמו כן הוא: טפיל הבא לכל שמחה או לכל ארוחה, מבלי שיזמינהו: זו היא הגשמה של דמות עממית מקובלת, שאגדות שונות כבר נוצרו עליה בקרב הערבים עוד קודם-לכן. אחרון בא מלאך המות, המתפאר בזאת שהוא שם קץ לכל דבר. אלמתאואם מבקש לעשות תשובה ומלאך המות מרשה לו זאת. אז הוא מתחרט

צללים ובהצגתם במצרים. (47) יעקוב 1901, ע' 8—6. (48) שם, במקומות שונים. השוה G. d. S., ע' 75—70. (49) יעקוב, 1901, ביחוד ע' 31—26. השוה G. d. S.



1. (Kahle, *Der Islam*, I, 272, fig. 7). האיש העומד ליד התורן מחזיק אבוב בפיו. בראש התורן חור, שבו משתמש מנהל המחזה, כדי להניע את הסיווז.
2. (שם, כרך II, ע' 161, תמונה 48). אניה חדשה יותר, בה משתמשים להצגת "חרב אלעגים". זוהי אניה קטנה יותר מאניות אחרות, בעלות 2 או אף שלשה תרנים, המופיעות במחזות הצללים.
3. (Levy, 1935, 121). אניה בהצגת "לעבת אלחותה" בסוניס. הדוגמה פשוטה בהרבה מן הקודמות וגם הסיוור פרימיטיבי יותר: בשעה שהסירה יורדת שמאלה אל הדג, יורד אף הדג, כך שאי אפשר לתפסו.

1. (Kahle, *Der Islam*, I, 272, fig. 7). The man standing near the mast has an oboe in his mouth. On the top of the mast there is the loophole which aids the "leader" in moving the boat.
2. (Id., vol. II, 161, fig. 48). A newer boat, used in the *Harb al-'Agam* play. This is a smaller boat than the two-masted or three-masted ones, which are common in Shadow Plays.
3. (Levy, 1935, 121). This boat is common in the Tunisian *Li'bat Elhote*. The pattern is simpler than the former ones and the arrangements more primitive: when the boat descends to the left, the fish descends too, so that the fishermen never succeed in catching it.

על עוונותיו ומבקש מחילה מרבוננו. הוא נפטר, ואורחיו מתעוררים ממצב התנומה שלהם ומסתכלים בבהלה בעונש לדוגמא, שהתרחש לנגד עניהם. רוחצים את גופת אלמתאוואם ומלויים אותו למנוחתו 49.

הקדשנו תשומת-לב מיוחדת לשלשת מחזות הצללים של אבן דאגניאל, לא רק בגלל היותם היצירה הדרמטורגית הגדולה היחידה של הערבים בימי-הביניים, שהגיעה לידינו, אלא גם משום שיש בתיאוריהם העממיים כדי לשקף צדדים שונים מההוי התרבותי של מצרים במאה השלוש-עשרה. במשך מאות שנים לאחר אבן-דאגניאל הוצגו מחזות צללים, אולם אלה לא הגיעו לידינו ורק מציאותם נזכרת במקורות שונים.

במאה הארבע-עשרה מזכירים את מחזה הצללים, אף כי לא בבירור, דוקא בפרס: מוחמד עצאר (מת 1382 לספירה) באפוס שלו, "מהר ומושתרי" 50 וחאפיטי (מת 1389 לס') 51, אשר רמזו למחזה הצללים חוקו ע"י אחרים. במאה החמש-עשרה מצטט שהאב אלדין אחמד אלאבשיהי ב"כתאב אַלמוסתטרף פי כל פן מסת'רף" שלושה חרוזים של משורר בלתי ידוע על-אודות מחזה הצללים 52. לפי אבן-חג'ה אומר אלקאצי אלפאצ'יל דברים דומים לצלאלה אלדין 53. במאות השנים הבאות מזכירים את תיאטרון הצללים לעתים קרובות יותר, ובעיקר במצרים. אבן איאס, למשל, מזכיר את תיאטרון הצללים ארבע פעמים בכרוניקה שלו ע"ד מצרים 54. חשובים עוד יותר דברי אבן איאס על-אודות הסולטאן סלים הראשון, כובש מצרים, שנהנה במידה כזאת ממחזה צללים במצרים, עד אשר אמר למנהל מחזה הצללים: "כאשר נסע לאסטנבול, בוא עמנו כדי שיראה בני זאת (את מחזה הצללים)" 55.

מחזות הצללים במצרים ובתורכיה

לפי ידיעה זו, המתארת את ראשית המאה השש-עשרה לס', ושש שנים לפני מותו של אבן איאס, מסתבר, כי הסולטאן לקח אתו להקת שחקנים לתורכיה — ואולי כך למדו התורכים מהמצרים את משחק הצללים, או, לפחות, שכללוהו. יתכן,

ע' 75—70. 50) לפי כתב-יד מהאפוס הזה, הנמצא בברלין, השוה G. d. S., ע' 76. 51) הדיואן של חאפיטי, בהוצ'ה ברוקהאוז, ליפציג, 1854—1860, שיר 255, בית 5, ושיר 360, בית 6. 52) "אלמוסתטרף", קהיר, 106, חלק ב', ע' 260; השוה הוצ'ה קהיר, 1354 (1935), חלק שני, ע' 291—292. ראה גם סייבולד, 1902, ע' 413—414; סייבולד מביא עוד מקבילה אחת. ראה G. d. S., ע' 77. 53) יעקוב, 1901, ע' 76—77. השוה G. d. S., ע' 77 וסייבולד, 1902, ע' 413—414. 54) פרטים ראה ב' G. d. S. ע' 77—79. השוה על הצגות הצללים העתיקות גם עדותו של שיהאב אלדין אחמד אלח'יפאג'י (מת 1069 להגירה=1659 לס'), ב"שיפא אלג'אליל" — לפי יעקוב, 1901, ע' 78—79; ואולי גם דבריו של יוסף אבן מחמד אבן עבד אלג'ואד אלשארכ'יני (מת בסוף המאה הי"ז) ב"האז אלקוחף" ("נענוע מוחות האכרים וכי"), הוצאת בולאק, 1274 להגירה. ראה גם פריפר, E.R.B., כרך 4, ע' 874, הערה 4; על ספרו של אלשארכ'יני השוה ברוקלמאן, G. d. S. II, ע' 278, והנספחות לכרך ב', לידן, 1938, ע' 387. 55) אבן-איאס, "תאריחי מצר", בולאק, 1312 להגירה, חלק שלישי, ע' 125, מובא גם ביעקוב, 1901, ע' 78.

قال له اذا سافرتا الي استنبول فامض معنا حتى يفرج ابني على ذاك

כי בין אותם 600 המצרים, ששלח בנו סולימאן, בעלותו לסולטאן, שלוש שנים לאחר זאת, לארצם, נמצאו גם אותם השחקנים⁵⁶. קשה לקבוע את מידת ההשפעה ההדדית בין ערבי מצרים והתורכים בעניני מחזות הצללים. במאה הארבע-עשרה נזכר מחזה הצללים, כנ"ל, בתבריו, מחזו ידוע כמתווך מבחינה תרבותית בין



4. (Kahle, *op. cit.*, I, 297, fig. 37). מוכר בשוק, מציע דברים למכירה בסלו. כובע הדמות אינו רגיל במחזות הצללים.

5. (שם, ע' 296, תמונה 36). תעאדיר, מתוך "לעב אלדיר". על ראשו חובש את ה"טורטור". היד המושטת אינה קדומה כשאר חלקי התבנית, והיא תפורה אל הגוף בעור עבה.

6. (Prüfer, 1906, 86). אלריחים, דמות חוזרת במחזות הצללים המצריים, העתיקים והחוישים. חלקי גופו בולטים בצורה בלתי רגילה.

4. (Kahle, *op. cit.*, I, 297, fig. 37). A market seller offering goods in his basket. The figure's hat is uncommon in Shadow Plays.

5. (Id., 296, fig. 36). *Ta'adir* from *Li'b el-Deir*. On his head the *Tartur*. The outstretched hand is not as old as the other parts of the figure, and it is sewn to the body in an unusual way.

6. (Prüfer, 1906, 86). *Al-Rikhim*, a recurring character in Egyptian Shadow Plays, old and new. Parts of his body protrude in an uncustomary manner.

הפרסים והתורכים. אולם גם עדות זו וגם אותו שיח' כיושטרי, דרויש מפרס, אשר לו מיחסות מסורות שונות את המצאת מחזה הצללים⁵⁷, אין בהם כדי לשכנע שהיה לתורכים תיאטרון צללים מפותח, לפני שהובא ממצרים.

חשובות יותר העדויות הפנימיות. מוצב חיץ בין מחזה הצללים המצרי והתורכי היות ובראשון אין טיפוסים קבועים. זכותו של פריפר היא, שהוכיח כי

למחזות המצריים יש רק טיפוס אחד משותף, הוא הבמאי או הקונפרנס, ה"המאדם" (ספרותית: מקדם), המקביל לחאג'יואד במחזות הצללים התורכיים. אפשר להוסיף בתור דמות טיפוסית שניה גם את "אלרח'ם"; אולם זו דמות בעלת חשיבות ממדרגה שניה בלבד.⁵⁸

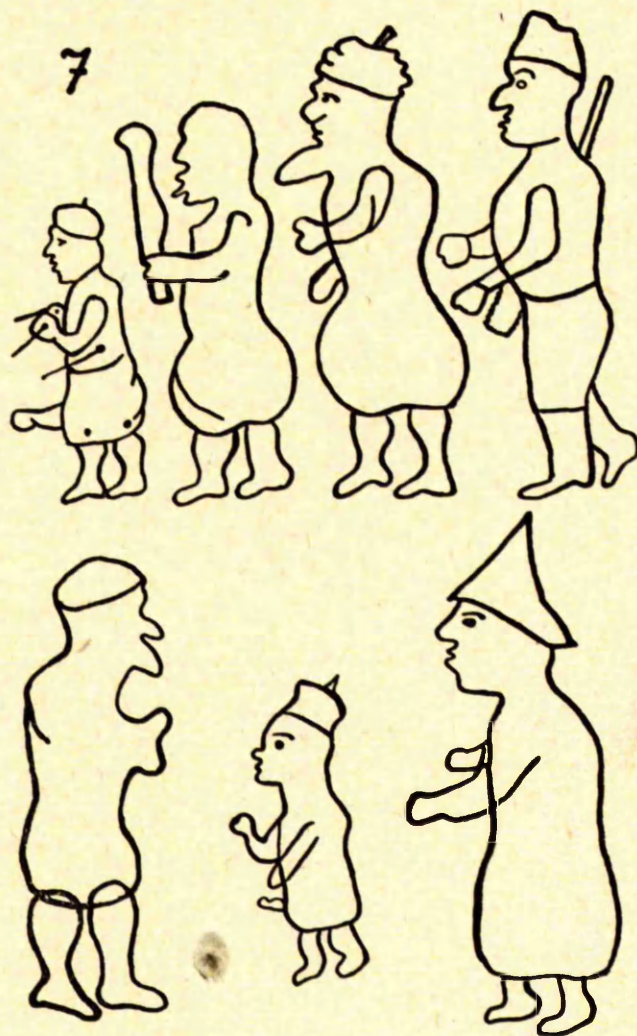
פריפר מנסה לפרש⁵⁹ "רח'ם=ח'ם", כלומר "מלוכלך". אלא שידוע כי שם זה מופיע במקומות שונים בצורה ברורה, דוקא "רח'ם". נדמה לי שיש לפרש שם זה באירוניה, מכיון ש"רח'ם" הוא "עדין" (בהופעתו) או "רך" (בקולו).⁶⁰ כל התמונות שנשארו לנו מאלרח'ם מראות אותו במיוחד כדמות גרוטסקית, אשר בטנו ועכוזו בולטים שלא כדרך הטבע, בצורה המזכירה לנו את המימוס ההלני ממש. כך יהיה שמו, לפי הסבר זה, נמצא בניגוד אירוני להופעתו, שאינה כלל עדינה, ממש כמו ש"טיפ אלח'יאל" במחזהו של אבן דאניאל איננו כלל "כאמל אלאעתדאל", שלם הפרופורציה, אלא ההיפך הגמור מזאת.

בדומה, אין השם כרגוז נזכר אף פעם בכל הספרות הרחבה של מחזות הצללים במצרים.⁶¹ בענין זה חושבני שטועה הרוביץ, ביחסו לכרגוז השפעה נרחבת על מחזות הצללים בערבית בדורות האחרונים.⁶² אין להכליל את דבריו על מצרים, שהיתה ונשארה עדיין מרכזם של מחזות הצללים בערבית. מאידך, אף כי ידוע רק מעט על אודות ה"שב באז", מחזה הצללים הפרסי, בכל-זאת ברור, כי טיפוס הטיפש, "כציל פהלואן", מתיחס לכרגוז ממש כמו שהטיפוס הפרסי מתיחס לתורכי. מחזה הצללים ההיסטורי, אשר אולי הועבר לקושטא, כנ"ל, בימי סלים הראשון, לא היכה שם שרשים ונשאר משהו מיוחד לתיאטרון הצללים המצרי.⁶³

על אף כל זאת, קיימים סימנים כי היו יחסי השפעה הדדית — יש עוד לקבוע באיזו מידה — בין תיאטרון הצללים בתורכיה ובמצרים. השפעות של תיאטרון הצללים המצרי על התורכי יכולה להסתכם כדלקמן: ראשית, שומעים אנו על תיאטרון הצללים במצרים לפני שאנו שומעים על-אודותיו בתורכיה. שנית הידיעה על-דבר פקודת סלים הראשון לקחת שחקני תיאטרון צללים לקושטא. שלישית, הטיפוסים הבולטים במחזות אבן דאניאל (ואולי עוד יותר במחזות צללים אחרים, שטרם הגיעו לידינו) הועתקו — אפילו יחד עם שמותיהם המצריים — למחזות הכרגוז. רביעית, השם כרגוז, בו מציינים את מחזה הצללים התורכי על-

58) השוה "אלרח'ם" בהופעתו במחזה הצללים שהודפס ע"י פריפר, 1906, ע' 86, לדמותו כמתורגמן ב"חבר אלעג'ם", המתאר התקפת פתע של הנוצרים על אלכסנדריה, כפי שצוין ע"י קאהלי במאמרו Das Krokodilspiel (1915), ע' 293. השוה גם עדותו של קרן, 1905, ע' 101 וע' 102. 59) פריפר, 1906, ע' 86. 60) השוה השורש נ-ח-מ בלסאן אלערב, וכן בארתלמי, 1935, ומלוגים אחרים. 61) השוה G. d. S., ע' 81—80. 62) הרוביץ, 1905, ע' 32—31. קולע יותר בידון זה הוא E. R. E., פריפר, כרך 4, ע' 874. 63) ראה G. d. S., ע' 82—81.

שם המשחק בתפקיד הראשי, הוא העתק משם הוזיר המצרי קאראקוש. עד כמה שידוע לנו, חי וזיר זה בימי צלאח אלוין והיה ממקורביו של הלוזום הגדול. דברים שנכתבו נגדו בלעג שיוו לו מראה והתנהגות של לץ טיפש. במשך השנים



7. (Levy, 1935, ע' 123). תבניות של דמויות שגורות ב"כרכוז" בטוניס. משמאל לימין, למעלה: כרכוז, מסעוד הכושי, בריתו היהודי, סלימאן התורכי; למטה: חאזיואז, כרכוז אלצגיר (הקטן), פאטמה.

7. (Levy, 1935, 123). Common figures in Tunisian Karakoz. From left to right above: Karakoz, the negro Mas'ud, Breytu the Jew, Suleiman the Turk; below: Haziwaz, Karakoz al-Saghir (small), Fatma.

נתוספו מסורות עממיות שונות, שנוצרו לכתחילה על אישים שונים לגמרי, לדמותו המצחיקה של קאראקוש⁶⁴. כך נשארה מקאראקוש זה עד ימינו דמות אגדית מעוררת גיחוך. זוהי

64 על ספרו של אבן ממאתי (מת 1209 לס') נגד קאראקוש עיין גם ברוקלמאן, G. A. L.

הגשמה של הטפשות, הטמטום וחוסר הנימוס, המלווים באומץ-רוח⁶⁵. אבן-דאניאל, שחי יותר ממאה שנה אחר הוזיר קאראקוש, עדיין אינו מכירו כטיפוס הלץ הטיפש ובמצרים לא הצליח להתאזרח. לעומת זאת, בתורכיה הוא טיפוס רגיל וחביב. יש לזכור שהתורכים מצאו עוד בקושטא את דמותו של המימוס וזיוני העתיק המראה דמיון רב לכרגוז; למשחקי המימוס קרוב עוד יותר סוג המחזות העממיים התורכיים הנקרא „אורטה אוינו“⁶⁶.

מהלך תוכנו של מחזה הצללים התורכי הוא, בדרך-כלל, כדלקמן: תאג'יואד וכרגוז פוגשים איש ברעהו ונדברים ביניהם להשיג כסף, ע"י התעסקות במקצועות ובמלאכות. כרגוז מראה את עצמו בהתחלה בתור לא-יצלה, עד אשר טפשותו מובילה אותו בהדרגה למעשה רב ונועז. בתור לקוחות מופיעים טיפוסים של בני-אדם מעמים שונים בקושטא: יוני, ארמני, יהודי וכו', — כל אחד מהם מדבר תורכית נלעגת, כדרכו. לבסוף נכנסת המשרה ולפי בקשת תאג'יואד, משחררת היא את כרגוז בתנאי שבערב הבא ישחק באופן עוד יותר מצחיק. כמובן שלכרגוז יש אפשרות להופיע בתפקידים של בעלי מקצוע שונים⁶⁷. מבחינת מוסר-ההשכל, נדמה כי סוג זה של מחזות-צללים יכול להיות מכון לילדים⁶⁸.

מחזות כרגוז מעטים יותר אצל הערבים ומושפעים מהתורכים. בניגוד למחזות המצריים, יש כאן דמויות קבועות המראות את התגבשותן של המסורות העממיות סביב טיפוסים מסויימים. הבלטת הניגוד בין תאג'י ואד או תאג'י איואד, מצד אחד, וכרגוז מצד שני, הוא אחד היסודות המצחיקים ביותר במחזות הכרגוז. תאג'י ואד מעודן יותר ומשתדל להיות בררני במלים, אשר בהן הוא מביע את דבריו, רבות משאר הדמויות במחזה הצללים נותנות אמון בתאג'יואד. בניגוד לו, כרגוז הוא טיפוס בלתי-מהוקצע, השוטה הקרח (כמוקיונים אחרים), שהולך אחר תאוות-לבו, מבלי לשים לב לשום עצה, ועובר מהרפתקה אחת לשניה, בחפשו עבודה או ברדפו אחר נשי אחרים. שפתו פשוטה מאד, ואי-הבנות לשוניות בינו לבין תאג'יואד מעוררות תמיד גיחוך. נוסף לכמה דמויות אחרות, רגילות מאד גם דמויות המעצבות את הופעתם של בני עמים שונים, במנהגיהם, בתלבושתם ובצורה בה משתדלים הם לדבר תורכית צחה: פרסים⁶⁹ וערבים, יהודים⁷⁰, פרנקים (נוצרים וזרים), המתחלפים ביוונים, ארמנים וארנאוטים, תורכים כפריים,

ליפציג, 1909, ע' 160, ודבריו המורחבים יותר ב G. A. L., כרך 1898, ע' 335, ובכרך הנספחות הראשון, לידן, 1937, ע' 572—573; ברקלמאן מביא גם ביבליוגרפיה עליו. השוה גם דברי הורוביץ, 1905, ע' 12 וע' 31—29. על אישיותו הוויסטוריות של קאראקוש עמד גם ליינפלד, 1926, ע' 108, 110, 152, 153, 244, 295, 297, ו-363. (65) ראה גם יעקוב, 1899, ההקדמה, ע' VII. וגם להלן. (66) עיין הורוביץ, 1905, ע' 33—30. (67) G. d. S., ע' 95—96. (68) על-אודות הדמויות הקבועות של מחזות הצללים בתורכיה, תאג'יואד, כרגוז ואחרים, מדבר גם י. שר, 1861, ע' 57; השוה גם יעקוב, 1906, ע' 25. מענין, כי שר רומז על קשר בין הדמויות במחזה הצללים בסין ובתורכיה. (69) הלעג לדרך דיבור

בלתי מתורבתים ואוהבי עמל. בין הטיפוסים הפאתולוגיים נמנים המגמגם, מעשן-האופיום, מעשן-החשיש, השכור והמשוגע.

יש 4 סוגי מחזות כרגוז בתורכיה: (א) כרגוז מחפש מקצע בהדרכת חאג'י-ואד ומראה את חוסר יכולתו — מחזות כאלה מצויים גם בערבית. (ב) כרגוז מנסה לעשות דברים אסורים מתוך סקרנות או תאוה ועל כך הוא נתפס בידי דלי בכיר, אשר רק חאג'י-ואד מצילו מידו. (ג) כרגוז נכנס לעסק ביש ונמצא במצב בלתי-נעים. (ד) מחזות שאולים מהאגדה העממית.

דאוד אלמנאוי וחסן אלקשאש

במאה התשע-עשרה ועוד יותר בעשרים, מתרבות הידיעות על-אודות תיאטרון-הצללים במזרח. הזכרת תיאטרון הצללים חוזרת פעמים רבות בתיאורי מסעות למזרח, אולם ערכן של הידיעות הללו אינו תמיד רב. חשוב יותר, אף מבחינתנו, כי מלומדים שונים ראו טכסטים, שהכילו מחזות צללים, ובמקצת אף הוציאו לאור. בין מחזות הצללים שהוצאו לאור נמצא מספר מסוים, המפיץ אור גם על אופיו של תיאטרון הצללים בערבית. בשעה שמחזות הצללים של אבן-דאניאל כתובים בחרוזים ובפרוזה חרוזה, חליפות, הרי מרבית מחזות הצללים הכתובים ערבית, במאה התשע-עשרה, כתובים דוקא בחרוזים⁷¹.

לפי השקפת העולם של האיסלאם, מעטה השפעת האדם על גורלו בחיים. אללה הוא המסדיר את הכל, מבלי לתת חשבון לאיש. כפי שהרגישו כבר מקודם, הרי מחזה הצללים מבטא את השקפת החיים הזאת, כיון שהמנהיג מושך בכל החוטים, מבלי שיהא ליצוריו רצון משלהם. טרגדיה זו של החיים משתקפת גם במחזה הצללים. לרוב התוכן הוא חטא, שמושך אחריו עונש או כפרה: במחזות הצללים התורכיים החטא הזה הוא לרוב גשמי, ובמחזות הערביים — דתי. המוסלמי הופך בנקל לבלתי-מאמין, בעברו על איסורים בדת; אולם אם יחזור בתשובה, יסלח לו עונו, אף כי כל אוצר המצוות שאגר קודם-לכן הולך לאיבוד. כך נוהג המוסלמי לכפר על אותו עוון, לחזור בתשובה ע"י עליה לרגל למכה: התחייבות זאת יקח בסוף ימיו, כשנחוצה היא ביותר לכפרת עוונותיו. זה הוא היסוד העמוק יותר הגלום במחזות הצללים הערביים השונים. משום זאת, מסתיימים מחזות צללים כגון "אמיר וצאל" ו"לעב אלדיר" המודרני בעליה לרגל למכה, ו"אלמתום"

של הזרים הוא מהדברים המאפיינים את מחזה הצללים, והכרגוז התורכי והערבי בכלל זה. על הלעג לביסויים של הרפסים ולהופעתם במחזות הצללים מספר, למשל, ה. ואמבירי, 1876. עי 34—35, וכן תה. גוטייר, 1894, פרק 14. (70) מחזות הצללים מרבים לחקות את דרך דיבורם של היהודים, ולא דוקא מתוך אהדה, השהו יעקוב, 1898, עי 703—695, ולענין הטיפוס היהודי שם עי 701. כדאי מאד היה לערוך מחקר על-דבר דמותו של היהודי בתיאטרון של העמים המוסלמים ובתיאטרון אצל הערבים בפרט. על תיאטרון הצללים התורכי ראה עוד, בין השאר: סוסי, 1936; ליטמאן, 1918; קונס, 1908; יעקוב, 1091 ד; יעקוב, 1900. (71) כך מעיד גם פריפר, אף על-דבר מחזות צללים עתיקים יותר, שנמצאו בידי אסתא דרויש,

בחזרה בתשובה, לפחות בדבר שפתיים, כפי שנדרש מכל מוסלמי (ה"שהאדה"). נכון שמצויים אלמנטים ארוטיים במחזות צללים רבים, אך כי יהיו בהם, ואפילו בצד האלמנטים הקודמים, יסודות מוסריים. כמו שמוצאים ב"לעב אלדיר" ובדומה גם במחזה צללים פרסי, אשר תכנו נמסר לנו ע"י אזוליי לפני ארבעה דורות.⁷²

גם בימינו אפשר לראות לעת ערב בקהיר, אלכסנדריה, פורט סעיד וערים אחרות בדלתה, מחזות צללים אשר לא קל לקבוע את קשרם למחזות העתיקים יותר. על במה פשוטה, שהוקמה בבית-קפה, בחוץ, או בבית פרטי ביום חתונה, מתחילים פיסת בד לבן, מאחוריו שמים מנורה; במקלות או בעלי תמרים לוחצים על פיסת הבד, כך שדמויות העור או העיסה נראות דוגמת צללים. לאותן הדמויות יש אברים מתנועעים ואף החלק התחתון של הגוף מתנועע. הטכסט של ה"מחזה" מדוקלם או מושר חליפות. ניסו לצבוע בצבעים ססגוניים את הדמויות הללו. שגובהן מגיע לחצי מטר. לערך, עובדה המביאה להגדלת במתו של מחזה הצללים, תופעה ידועה לנו יפה מסוריה ומתורכיה. כמה ממחזות הצללים המודרניים הם ארוכים למדי. "עלם ותעאדיר", למשל, מכילה חומר מספיק להצגה בהמשכים בעשרים ושמונה לילות רמציאן.

תיאטרון הצללים המודרני הובא לקהיר ע"י חסן אלקשאש. בעיירה מנולה הכיר אלקשאש את סוג ההצגות הזה, למד אותו, השיג כתב-יד של משחק צללים, שחובר כמאתים שנה לפני כן, והניח את היסוד להחייאת תיאטרון הצללים. הוא הציג בקהיר, לאחר הפסקה ארוכה, מחזות צללים, יחד עם מוסא אלדראע, אשר פריפר שמע על-אודותיו וקאהלי הכירו פנים אל פנים.⁷³ לאחר זאת נפרדו חסן אלקשאש ומוסא אלדראע איש מרעהו והקימו כל אחד להקה לעצמו. אלקשאש הביא מדמשק למצרים שתי תבניות, שהועתקו אח"כ בקהיר ע"י אחרים.⁷⁴

כתב-היד הנ"ל ואחרים, מאפשרים לנו להכיר יפה את תיאטרון הצללים העממי במצרים. מחזה הצללים הזה אינו יצירתו של משורר אחד; וכתב-היד השונים אינם מכילים את הטכסט השלם של המחזה האחד. השחקנים, שנתנו את האינטרפרטציה שלהם במשחק, הכירו היטב את רוח העם והכניסו לעתים נימה עממית מיוחדת בהעלאת המחזה על הבמה. כמו-כן הושפע השחקן ממורהו: השוליא הצעיר היה שווה זמן-מה אצל השחקן הותיק בתיאטרון-הצללים, ומורהו היה מלמדו ומפקח על הצגותיו. עכ"פ, מכיון שהנוהג היה דורש כי החומר במחזות הצללים יוגש בחלקו הגדול בצורה שירית — שדוקלמה או הושרה — נמצאו רק שחקנים מעטים בתיאטרון הצללים, אשר חיברו בעצמם את החומר העממי למחזותיהם. רובם של השחקנים הללו נאלצו להשתמש בשיריהם של שחקנים מחוננים ומפורסמים. כך לא היה השוליא רק לומד אצל מורהו השחקן

משחק בתיאטרון צללים בקהיר. השה פריפר, 1906, ההקדמה ע' XI. (72 אוסלי, 1823, ע' 404-405. עיין גם G. d. S., ע' 93-95. (73 פריפר, 1906, ההקדמה, ע' VII; I. S. B., קאהלי ב-Der Islam, ב', 1911, ע' 185-186. (74 קאהלי, שם, ע' 186

כיצד יעבד סצינה מסוימת, אלא היה גם כותב את אשר היה שומע. 75. אופי דוגמתי זה יש לכתב-היד ממנולה שנתגלגל לידי חסן אלקשאש ושנשא את הכותרת הבאה: "זהו דיואן מחזות-הצללים מתוך שירתו של שיח' סעוד ושל שיח' עלי אלנחלה ומתוך שירתו של ראש חברת השחקנים ("אלאחרין") והמנהל דאוד סוחר התבלין". 76. דאוד אלמנאוי או אלמאנאטי עצמו, כפי הנראה מהכתובת בראש המחזה, חיבר את האוסף הזה משירים מפרי-עטו ומשיריהם של שנים מקודמיו — אולי ממוריו — אשר אותם מזכיר הוא לשבח גם בשיריו; וכך הוגש לשחקנים חומר ראוי להצגה. 77. דאוד זה הפך לדמות אגדית זמן קצר לאחר מותו. וספרו על-אודותיו בקהיר מעשיות שונות על הצגותיו המעולות, שיריו הנעימים ומותו הטרגי. 78. כל שיר בתוך המחזה מתחיל בפתחה ("מטלע") וממשיך בשורת בתי שיר ("דור"). ה"מטלע" כולל שבח לנביא ("דור אלמדיח"), ואילו ה"דור" מזכיר את שם המחבר ("דור אלסטשהאד"). אף כי כתב-היד שהגיע אלינו פגום הוא, בדרך-כלל, וכתוב על דפים נפרדים, יכולים אנו לדעת בדרך זו מי חיבר כל שיר, שהגיע אלינו בשלמותו. בדרך-כלל מצטרף לדברי-הזכירה ("זגיל") גם מזמור שיר ("בליק"), אשר אותו שרים, והוא המכניס לענין את הזגיל שאחריו. בכתב-היד הנ"ל מצויות סצינות מקבילות רבות, הכתובות בידי המחברים השונים והמאפשרות לשחקן את בחירת אותה הנוסחה הנראית לו מתאימה יותר לגבי ההודמנות. השואת הסצינות מאלפת מאד, משום שהיא מוכיחה לנו כי נמצאו מסורות שונות, אשר אליהן היו המשוררים קשורים, ויכלו לחבר ממש רק בפרטים.

לפי כתב-היד הנידון, היתה מסורת ארוכה של מחזות צללים. מכיון שכתב-היד נתחבר בשנת 1119 להג'רה (1706—1707 לס'), יש להניח, כי דאוד אלמנאוי היה בן המאה השבע-עשרה. העובדה שדמויות עממיות, כגון אבו אלקטט וכן קטטוא מופיעות גם אצלו, כמו אצל אבן דאניאל וכמו בימינו—סימן שהיה חומר משותף לנושאים של מחזות הצללים ויתכן, כי נמצאו אף מסורות שעברו מידי שחקני תיאטרון הצללים לחבריהם. כל אלה התגלגלו לידי חסן אלקשאש והיו יסוד לחידוש תיאטרון הצללים בידי. כתב-היד של אלמנאוי לא נכנס בשלמותו למחזה הצללים של אלקשאש: זאת יכולים אנו לקבוע גם לפי אופיו הכללי של מחזה הצללים, לפי מידת בקיאותנו בו וגם מתוך ליקויים בטכסט, אשר כתבי-יד אחרים ממלאים אותם רק במקצת. עכ"פ יש להניח, כי אלקשאש, חניך מנולה, הספיק לראות עוד שרידי תיאטרון הצללים העתיק באותו מקום, וברוח זאת עיבד את החומר שלו ויצר מחדש את תיאטרון הצללים במצרים. 79.

ועי' 189—138. 75 קאהלי, 1913, עי' 104—103. 76 דאוד העיר באמת על עצמו כי היה סוחר תבלין — ראה שם עי' 104, הערה 2. 77 שם, שם. השוה גם קאהלי, (1915). "Das Krokodilspiel" עי' 289 ואילך. 78 השוה I. S. E., קאהלי Der Islam, בי, עי' 187—185. 79 קאהלי, 1913, עי' 105—104. השוה הורוביץ, O. L. Z.

קשה להניח השפעות חיצוניות על יצירתו של חסן אלקשאש, מכיון שעדות בנו, דרויש אלקשאש, כי אביו בא מאלג'יר בגיל עשרים (או ממרוקו בשנת 1862). אינה מהימנה. אפילו קאהלי, שהביא ידיעה זו לראשונה, מפי דרויש אלקשאש, חזר בו 80. מתברר מקורות אחרים, כי אותו חסן אלקשאש, שעסק בתיווך בעניני בתים, נולד במצרים וחי בה עד למותו (בקירוב בשנת 1905) 81. מכאן קשה לראות, מבחינות חיצוניות, לפחות, השפעה זרה על יצירתו. חסן אלקשאש הכניס למחזות הצללים גם מספר דמויות חדשות ויש בידינו ידיעות, אמנם זעומות, על-אודות תבניות חדשות שצויה להכין לו; נוספות לכך ידיעות מעטות בדבר תבניות מודרניות שהוכנסו לתיאטרון הצללים בערך בימיו, ואפשר לשער, כי אף אם לא היה היוזם היחידי בגיוון זה, הרי תרם את חלקו 82. תבניות חדשות אלו שונות בהרבה מהישנות, ואפשר, כי אלקשאש השתמש בהן (אולי אף יצר אותן), כשראה בימי לימודו במנזלה, כי אין הקהל מבין היטב מה רוצות התבניות הישנות לסמל. הדוגמאות לתבניותיו החדשות היו סוריות שדמו מאד לתורכיות: זה מתברר מהדמיון שבין מראן החיצוני של התבניות ומהנסיון לחקות את צבעיהן. כל אלו שונות תכלית שינוי מהתבניות העתיקות של מחזות הצללים במצרים 83.

יחד עם התבניות הנ"ל נמצאו מספר כתבי-יד, שדפיהם היו מעורבבים. אלה היו העתקות ממחזות צללים ידועים למדי, בתוספת קטעי שירה רבים יותר; הוא העתיק סצינות מהשוק הערבי ונוסחאות הכרזה על סחורות ממחזות עתיקים יותר. דוגמה זו, המסופרת ע"י קאהלי כבדרך-אגב 84, נראית לי אופיינית לדרך בה חוברו מחזות צללים חדשים, ע"י קומפילציה של קטעים מהמחזות הקדומים יותר.

ממותו של דאוד אלמנאוי ועד הופעתו של אלקשאש, לא היה תיאטרון הצללים נעדר לגמרי ממצרים, אלא יתכן שמרבית המחזות האלה היו מסוג הכרגוז התורכי, אשר חוקו ע"י הערבים ואף הוצגו על-ידם בתורכית. זוהי עדותו של לין בשנות העשרים והשלשים של המאה שעברה 85. לא ברור לי, אם הכרגוז, שראה אותו ידידיה בקהיר בשנת 1859, הוצג בתורכית או בערבית, אך נוטה אני יותר לסברה הראשונה 86. המיסיונר האוסמאן ראה אף הוא בקהיר, בשנות הששים של המאה שעברה, מחזות צללים לא מעטים, אבל בתורכית דוקא 87.

י"ג, 1910, חובי 3, ע' 130, וחובי 6 ע' 279, על קאהלי, 1909. (80) קאהלי, 1913, ע' 105.
 (81) שם, ע' 106—105. (82) השה המקורות שם, ע' 106 והערות 3—1 באותו העמוד.
 (83) שם, ע' 106. השה על התבניות העתיקות I. S. E., קאהלי ב-Der Islam כרך 1, ע' 264—299, וכרך 2, ע' 143—181. ראה במיוחד בכרך השני ע' 182—183. (84) ב-Der Islam, כרך שני, ע' 182—184. (85) לין, 1836, כרך 2, פרק 7, ע' 116. (86) ואלה דברי ידידיה, 1860, ע' 353: Kara- "... et à côté la lanterne magique, guez, ravissait la foule par de fabuleuses obscénités ..."
 (87) מילר, 1909, ע' 341—342. השה I. S. E., קאהלי, ב-Der Islam, כרך 2, ע' 188.

דוגמאות ממצרים במאה העשרים.

מחזות הצללים במצרים, כפי שפורסמו ע"י קאהלי, הועלו עוד במצרים גם בשנים האחרונות שלפני מלחמת-העולם הראשונה, אולם בהבדלים⁸⁸. חוץ ממנו, הרבו להתעניין במחזות הצללים בערבית בשלהי המאה שעברה ובראשית המאה הנוכחית בין השאר, עוד שני אנשים. הראשון ביניהם היה פרידריך קרן, שהכיר מקרוב את תיאטרון הצללים במצרים והיה הראשון שמצא מחדש, כביכול, את תיאטרון הצללים הזה, ומזרחנים שונים הלכו בעקבותיו⁸⁹. השני היה קורט פריפר שנתעורר לכך ע"י יעקוב⁹⁰, ואשר שהה במצרים והיה אח"כ ראש האינט-ליג'נס של הצבא התורכי-גרמני בסוריה ובארץ-ישראל⁹¹. מעדויות שלשתם מצטיירת תמונה ברורה ממחזות הצללים לפני ארבעים-חמשים שנה במצרים. על סוריה וטונים נדון להלן.

בקהיר היה אז רק תיאטרון צללים קבוע אחד. בשנת 1903 נוסף עוד תיאטרון צללים שני בסביבת הראשון. שניהם לא האריכו ימים, ובקיץ שנת 1909 נשאר רק תיאטרון אחד, אשר גם הוא נסגר בפקודת המשטרה, אולי כדי למנוע את התפשטות המחלות המדבקות בעונה ההיא.

דוגמת אומנויות דומות, היו מנהלי מחזות הצללים מאוגדים במעין אגודה. בקהיר נמצאו חמשה מנהלי מחזות צללים: דרויש, בנו של חסן אלקשאש; הוא למד את אומנותו מפי אביו והיה ראש שחקני הצללים בקהיר, אולם לא היה לו תיאטרון משלו; הוא הציג כאשר הזמן לחגיגות, בדרך-כלל לפני "החברה הגבוהה". מוחמד עלי אלקבאקיבי וג'אד אלחק הציגו ברמצ'אן בבית-קפה או בבתי פרטיים. שחאתה חמאם הציג פעם או פעמיים בשבוע ב"תיאטרון" המיוחד שלו, — בבית-קפה קבוע בשוק הדגים בקהיר. את החמישי, שיח' מוסא אלשאער, לא הצליח פריפר לראות⁹², והיה סבור, בטעות, כי כבר נפטר⁹³. מחוץ לקהיר, נערכו רק באלכסנדריה עוד הצגות צללים בתיאטרוננו הקטן של סלים. בערי-השדה ובכפרים נפסקו כמעט לגמרי הצגות מחזות הצללים, בפקודת הממשלה המצרית, החוששת מהתפשטות מגפת החולירע בכינוס אנשים רבים.

הטכניקה של המשחק דומה לזו הידועה לנו ממחקרים יסודיים שונים, שנערכו בשפות שונות על-דבר הכרגוז התורכי. תבניות מעור שקוף וצבוע, בגודל 30 עד 70 ס"מ, נדחפות על-ידי מקל לוילון המפריד בינן לבין הקהל. מאחורי התבניות נמצאת מנורה בהירה, ושוב מאחוריה נמצא המנהל (מקדם או מעלם), המנענע במקלות את התבניות, שבאבריהן נחקקו חורים. רק לעתים רחוקות יכול המעאלים עצמו לנענע את כל התבניות, ולרוב שוכר הוא כמה עוזרים —

(88) השה עדות E. R. E. פריפר, כרך 4 ע' 874. (89) מילר, 1909, ע' 342.
 (90) פריפר, 1906, ההקדמה, עמוד XX. (91) סטורס, 1945, עמוד 122.
 (92) פריפר, 1906, ההקדמה, עמודים V—VII. (93) הדבר נתברר לקאהלי

לפעמים תלמידיו — שיעזרו לו בעבודה זו. במקרה זה, יש שהעוזרים ממלאים גם את התפקיד הדיבורי של אותה הדמות, אשר הם מפעילים אותה. חוץ מעוזריו אלה, מסייעים למעלים שלושה-ארבעה מנגנים: שנים עם טמבורינות, שלישי עם אובוי, ורביעי עם תוף של יד.

האפנדי, שטעם מהתרבות האירופית, חושב שיכול הוא לוותר על תענוגי מחזות הצללים אשר ערכם ירד בעיניו, ואינו מואיל לבקר באותם מקומות השעשועים, בהם מציגים את חיאל אלטל. משום זאת, רוב מבקריו של תיאטרון הצללים הם מדלת העם, בעיקר נערים; רק בימי רמצ'אן ובקיץ, ואז במסיבות חגיגות, רואים גם בני השכבה הבינונית ואף הגבוהה הצגות אלו. הקהל, שאיננו מתורבת כראוי, ואינו שוכח כי נמצא הוא בבית-קפה, איננו מעונין ביותר בהצגה ומרבה להפריע, עד אשר חייב המעלים להסות את הרעש והפטפוטים בצעקות ואף במקלו⁹⁴. לאחר שהתאסף קהל במספר מספיק, שרה הלהקה המורכבת מאנשים ונערים — בזמן האחרון (לפי עדות קרן עצמו), גם מנשים — במקלה את הפרולוג (בתורכית פירדי גאזילי), אשר מסיים, אחר התשבחות לאלהים ולחידיו בנסיון ליצור אהדה מצד הקהל לשחקנים. אחר-כך מתחיל, בדרך-כלל לפי בקשת הקהל, אחד המחזות הרבים (לעב, ברבים: אֶלְעָאב; בדיוק — משחקים, וכן הדבר גם בשפות אחרות), הנמצאים באמתחתה של הלהקה. לרוב קובע הקהל גם איזה מאורע רוצים הם לראות לאחר מאורע מסוים, וחברי הלהקה ממלאים את רצונם.

מתקבל מאד על הדעת, שאפשר להבחין בשני זרמים של מחזות צללים: האחד ספרותי, ממעיט בניבול-פה, ונציגו בראשית המאה הנוכחית היה חמאם; השני עממי יותר, מרבה בבדיחות שבניבול-פה ובקטעים שיריים ומיצגו היה באותו הזמן דרויש. יש לשער כי הסוג הראשון קודם לשני, מכיון שברור איך יעברו מחזות בנימה ספרותית להצגות עממיות בפני קהל פחות מחונך; אולם קשה לתאר, כיצד מחזות עממיים יהפכו לקטעים קרובים יותר לשפה הספרותית ולתרבות הגבוהה יותר. אף כי ממשיכים הם להיות מיוצגים לפני קהל חסר-השכלה ברובו. כל "לעב" מחובר מכמה מערכות (פצל, רבים — פצול), שאינן קשורות האחת בשניה קשר אורגני ומוצגות לפעמים כל אחת בפני עצמה⁹⁵.

קאהלי השיג מספר העתקות של "מחזה התמסח" ("לעב אלתמסאח"), המיוחס לימיו של אלקשאש. מחזה בשם זה — כנראה אותו המחזה עצמו — היה ידוע שנים מספר לפני-כן לפריפר, מתוך שמיעה בלבד, מבלי לראות את הצגתו⁹⁶.

כעבור שנים ספורות. (94) פריפר, 1906, ההקדמה, ע' VIII; ראה לענין זה עדות ברוגש, 1887. השה גם מאמרי "על התיאטרון אצל הערבים", חלק ג' ב"במה", מ"ט, אלול תש"ו, עמוד 50 ועמוד 58 וכן הביבליוגרפיה ב"במה" ג', סבת תש"ו, ע' 115. (95) יעקוב המעיט להתענין במחזות הצללים בתקופה החדשה. חיבוריו של קאהלי הוזכרו כבר לעיל ועוד יפורשו גם להלן. עיין קרן, 1905, ע' 98 ואילך 874 פריפר, E. R. B., 1906, 1906. (96) פריפר, 1906, ההקדמה ע' XII. (97) השה קאהלי, Krokodilspiel. (98) קאהלי, 1912.

כמו במחזות צללים רבים אחרים, פותח ה"מקדם" בשיר. לידו מופיע פלאח בשם זבריקאש, המתחיל את דבריו בתהילה לאלהים. מתפתח דו-שיח מתובל בבדיחות: זבריקאש חפץ לצוד דגים והמקדם מובילו לנילוס. עד מהרה נופל זבריקאש המימה, כי דג כבד מושכו; רק בדוחק ניצל הוא מטביעה והמקדם צריך לעודדו ולהבטיח לו מורה. לקריאתו של המקדם מופיע אלחאג' מנצור, דייג מנוסה, המטפל בהעברה מגדה אחת של הנילוס לשניה במצרים העליונה. בינו ובין זבריקאש, המדוכא מכשלונו, מתחיל דו-שיח, בו מפציר זבריקאש באלחאג' מנצור להיות מורו. לבסוף, מסכים אלחאג' מנצור ללמדו את מלאכת הדיג, בתנאים מסוימים, — תנאים מעניינים מאד. זבריקאש מסכים, וכשזורק הוא שנית את החכה, נבלע הוא ע"י תמסח, ורק ראשו בולט החוצה מתוך לוע התמסח.

נכנס רח'ם (הוא אבו אלקטט) והשיחה בינו לבין זבריקאש מתחילה. זה האחרון מתאונן על מצבו, אולם רח'ם עונה, כי נכמרו רחמיו על המסכן וכי היה מוכן לעזור לו בכסף ובוזהב, אך אין הוא יכול ללחום בתמסח. לקריאתו של רח'ם ממהרים אשת זבריקאש ובנו לבוא למקום המעשה, אבל שניהם מגורשים ע"י אלחאג' מנצור. זה האחרון מציע לברברי (נובי) להציל את זבריקאש המסכן. ושיחה זו מגלה כי הערבי חושב את הברברי למוגבל. מופיעים עוד ברבר ושני מרוקנים. הברברים אינם מצליחים להציל את זבריקאש ואחד מהם נבלע אף הוא ע"י התמסח. רק המרוקנים מצליחים בקיטור הקטורת ובהשבעות — בני מרוקו היו נודעים כלוחשי לחש — להרדים את התמסח, להציל מגרונו את שני קרבנותיו ולסחוב אותו, לאות נצחון, על הבמה 97.

קאהלי דן על עוד מחזה צללים מצרי, המתאר טיפוסים מהשוק בקהיר ונתחבר, כנראה, בראשית המאה השמונה-עשרה. אמנם, ההבדל בין הקטע הזה לבין אלה שפרסם יעקוב מתוך מחזהו השני של אבן דאניאל, הוא גדול למדי. מחבר המחזה החדש יותר נופל בכוח יצירתו מהמשורר בן המאה השלוש-עשרה. אעפ"י כן, גם קטע זה מקורי למדי, ומענין לציין, מבחינת חקר תולדות התרבות. כי לפחות דמות אחת נזכרת בשני המחזות והוא אבו אלקטט. דמות זו מופיעה, כנ"ל, גם ב"מחזה התמסח" בן המאה התשע-עשרה 98.

עוד יותר חשוב קטע זה, בהיותו כתוב בערבית עממית מיוחדת במינה 99. כתב-היד הזה חשוב מאד בשל אוצר המלים שלו בשפה העממית, הכתיב ודרך הניקוד. הקטע הנידון מכיל סיום של בליק אחד ובליק שני בשלמות. הבליק הוא שיר עממי, הבא לרוב בסוף שיר בעל חרוזים ארוכים, המודיע בסופו, בדרך-כלל, על בואו של הבליק. מושר לפי מגנינה מסוימת או קצב ידוע, הרשומים בשולי הגליון. כאן חסרות הערות אלו. בדיאלוג שבין אלקטט ומוכר הממתקים מתברר כי הראשון היה רוצה לבלוע כמה ממתקים, אבל נדחה ע"י המוכר. סצינות כאלה בין אבו אלקטט ומוכר המים נמצאות כבר קודם-לכן, ועל סמך זאת סבור קאהלי-

ע 92. 99) ברקלמאן מכנה את הערבית הזאת בשם "דיאלקט עממי מצרי אמתי" (echt-) in

אולי בצדק, כי יש כאן רק כמה סצינות מתוך ציקלוס גדול של שירים עממיים. ראש המדברים בקטע זה או אלרז'ים, אבו אלקטט, המבקש ממתקים. מלבדו מופיעים טיפוסים שונים של אנשי שוק ומכריזים על סחורתם, ממש כנהוג בשוקי קהיר. הטיפוסים הם: שני מוכרי דבש, שני מוכרי מים, שני מוכרי פול, מוכר ממתקים, מוכר עוגות, מוכר פירות כבושים בחומץ 100.

לפני ההצגה של "מחזה האניה" ("לעב אלמרכב"), פותחת להקה קטנה בנגינה על תוף, אבוב וטמבורינה; כך יוצרים "אווירה חגיגית" של הצגת מחזה. בתזמורת של מחזה הצללים התורכי לפני ארבעים שנה, ז"א בזמן בו היו מרבים להציג את "מחזה האניה", השתתפו: כנר אחד, מנגן על טמבורינה ומנגן על נבל 101. במחזה הצללים באירופה וגם בסיאם היתה התזמורת גדולה יותר, בדרך כלל 102.

לאחר דקות מספר מופיעה האניה, ובחלקה הקדמי ה"ראיס", הוא רב החובל. מתוך האניה שומעים את שירתם הקצובה והחד-גונית של עבדי האניה, החותרים במשוטיהם ומזמרים "הליסה-יליסה". פריפר, שהוציא לאור מחזה צללים זה, 103 וכן מלומדים אחרים התקשו בפירוש הפזמון החוזר הזה. "הליסה-יליסה" יכולה הנזכר בתלמוד, פס' ק"ב, ע"ב, בשמו של רב, בזו הלשון: "הלני היא הולא והילוק הוליא" 104. אמנם, נאלץ לומר כי קריאה זו סתמית היא, רק אם לא ימצא לה מובן; אולם במקרה דנן אין קושי מיוחד. שתי מלים אלו הן פזמון חוזר המסיים הרבה שירי ילדים בתורכיה, כפי המסופר לנו ע"י מחמד תופיק, דרך משל 105. "יליסה" אינו אלא צירוף של המלים *ise + vel*, בתורכית, כלומר "תהיה רוח"! מה שמתאים עוד יותר לשיר מלחים מאשר לשיר ילדים. אשר ל"הליסה" — יתכן מאד כי זו הכפלה של "יליסה", כדי לשמור על הקצב בשעת השיט.

לאחר שמתקרבת האניה לחוף ואין כבר אפשרות לחתור, מחכה רב החובל לנוסעים ומזמר כדי לבלות את הזמן, מיד לאחר שסיים, והנה שומע הוא תשובה מהחוף; זה הוא שולח הבטלן, הלועג לראיס. זה עונה לו ועל רקע דו-השיח שביניהם מתפתח המחזה המורכב מתמונות מחוברות ביניהן. הראיס מציע לשולח להיות מלח, וזה אינו מבין את הצעותיו או מסרס במזיד את כונתן, בניבול פה. לבסוף נעתר שולח לבקשות הראיס ומסיע לאניה בזה אחר זה: חייל תורכי; סוחר בכותנה; בנו הצעיר, אשר ריח רע גודף הימנו; אשתו של הסוחר, המתוכחת בחריפות עם שולח; בן מרוקו, המדבר בשפת מולדתו; סודאני, אשר שולח

(em ägyptischen Vulgärdialekt) — ראה Z. D. M. G., 64, 1910, ע' 264. 100 קאהלי, 1912, ע' 102—92. מובאות גם הנוסחאות, שבהן מכריזים התגרים על סחורותיהם. 101 יוסייהם, 1909, ע' 940. השוה רייך, 1903, 1, 621. 102 השוה על סיאם וזנאקול, 1947, ע' 211—210 וכן תמונה 20 (בע' 204). 103 פריפר, 1906. 104 השוה ד"ר רסאל פטאי, "הספנות העברית", הוצאת החברה לחקירת א"י ועתיקותיה, ירושלים 1938, ע' 55 והערות 46 ו-47 בע' 190. ד"ר פטאי הואיל בטובו להצביע לי על מקורות אלה. 105

מפילו לתוך המים. בסוף, בשעה שהאניה מפליגה, שר שוב הראיס וזמרתם של העבדים מלווה אותו כפזמון 106.

לעתים קרובות יש למחזה עוד פצל (מערכה). תוכנו הוא שיחתו של הראיס עם הנוסעים, אשר אותם שואל הוא למטרת נסיעתם ולתכליתה. כשמספר האיש ממרוקו, כי נוסע הוא לקהיר, מתפתח בינו לבין הראיס דיון על מעלותיה של עיר הבירה. מתואר בפרוטרוט כל מה שראוי לראות בקהיר או לצינו לשבח: המוזיאונים וגני אזבכיה, המסגדים והפירמידות, תאורת הגאז והטרדם החשמלי, המעינות והבארות, ועוד. לאחר זאת בא שוב אפילוג קצר של שולח 107. אפשר להרגיש, כי הפצל הנוסף חובר זמן קצר לפני שהוצג, כיון שמצייר הוא ממש את קהיר כפי שהיתה באותה שעה, בלית חידושי הטקניקה האירופית.

פריפר מבסס את ההשערה הזאת דוקא על העובדה, כי המחזה מכיל, בכמה מקומות גם בדרך מילולית, קטעים מתוך ספר עממי בשם „עג'איי מצר“, שנדפס רק זמן קצר לפני כן 108. הספר הזה איננו ידוע לי, אולם נדמה כי אין דרך ביסוס זו משכנעת כל צרכה, משום שלהקת שחקני הצללים היתה יכולה לזושתמש — וכך נהגו להקות אלו במשך מאות שנים — גם בכתבי-יד. טענתו של פריפר היתה קולעת יותר, לו הוכיח כי הספר לא רק נדפס זמן קצר לפני הצגת מחזה הצללים (אף כי גם הוכחה זו חשובה), אלא גם נכתב רק לפני ההצגה.

שפת המחזה היא עממית, מחוץ לקטעים השיריים; הטיפוסים קלושים מבחינה ספרותית ואפילו הראיס אינו ברור. שולח הוא טיפוס הנוכל, מנבל פיו ואוהב בצע, אך קר מזג, ממש כמו מימים אחרים 109. בכלל, קרבתו של מחזה צללים מצרי מסוג זה למחזות מקבילים בתורכית רבה יותר מאשר קרבתם של מחזות צללים סוריים ידועים לנו. באלה האחרונים חסר, לפעמים, אותו דיון בצורת דו-שיח, ה„מחאורה“ הידועה לנו יפה גם ממחזות תורכיים וגם ממחזות מצריים רבים. ביחוד קיים דמיון רב בין „מחזה האניה“ לבין ה„Kayik“ בתורכית. 110

ב„לעב אלמרכב“ תפקיד חשוב, כנ"ל, לניבול הפה. פריפר דוחה את סברת ליסמאן, כי סוג עממי זה של מחזות צללים קדום יותר. לו היה הדבר כך, קשה להסביר את הדרך בה גררה הצגת מחזות פשוטים אלה את חיבורם של מחזות הצללים הכתובים בשפה הספרותית, בה משולבים קטעי שירה, שאינם תמיד מובנים לקהל. אפשר היה עוד להבין כיצד „התנונו“ מחזות כתובים בספרותית למחזות רוויים בערבית מדוברת, גסה לפרקים. פריפר מניח את קיומן של שתי אסכולות בחיבור מחזות הצללים ובהצגתם. סוג אחד, דוגמת יצירותיו של אבן דאניאל, הועלה לפני נכבדי העם, אולם במשך הדורות, בעקבות הרדיפות הקשות

מ. תאופיק, 1905, ע' 29 ואילך. 106) התוכן של „מחזה האניה“ נמסר בקיצור נמרץ גם ע"י קרן, 1905 — שראה את המחזה — ע' 102. 107) פריפר, 1906. 108) שם, ע' 156. 109) השוה החומר המלוקט ע"י פריפר, שם, ע' 157 והערה 2 באותו העמוד. 110) הודפס בתרגי גרמני ע"י ה. ריטר, 1941, ע' 224—269. 111) פריפר, 1906.

שנגזרו על מחזה הצללים, פשט יותר הסוג העממי של מחזות אלה, בתוך ההמון. מחזה הצללים התאים את עצמו לקהל החדש שלפניו. ומכיון שהיסוד הארוטי וגיבול הפה עלולים להיות גורם מצחיק ממדרגה ראשונה בתוך קהל כזה — הרבו בו ממש כמו שמרבה ביסוד זה חלק גדול מהשירה הערבית העממית¹¹¹. חוץ מ"מחזה האניה" רגיל בקהיר גם "מחזה המנזר" ("לעב אלדיר"). יש שמציגים גם בסוף "לעב אלדיר" מערכה נוספת בשם "פצל אלמהנדס", המתאר כיצד תעאדיר מפקח על בנין בית מפואר למען עלם; או שמציגים במקום זה את "פצל עג'אב אלבחר", בו מופיעה שורת מפלצות ים¹¹². מצויים עוד מספר מחזות צללים אחרים, אך פריפר לא ראה אותם. המחזה מתחיל בהקדמה מוסיקלית ע"י התזמורת. בינתיים מופיע ה"מקדם" או ה"מעלם" ורוקד יחד עם מקלו לפי הקצב. בשעת ריקודו מופיעים רח'ם והרקדנית, המקרקרת בריקוד-בטן. המקדם ורח'ם רוצים כל אחד לגעת בה, אולם כל אחד מפריע לרעהו, עד שרח'ם משתטח לרגלי הרקדנית. היא מטפסת על גבו והם מסתלקים, לרוגזו של המקדם. זה האחרון משבח את מחמד ואת חבריו ומנסה להפנות אל עצמו את רצונו הטוב של הקהל, בחלקו להם מחמאות ובהבזותו בעיניהם את יריביו. אז מופיע כומר קופטי, מהלל את ישו; ה"מהאודה" (דו־שית) בינו לבין המקדם משמשת רקע למחזה, שאר הפצול מתקשרים אליה, ובין האחד למשנהו מאזינים לנגינת בינים. דומה לתאורו של אבן דאניאל היא התמונה של החתונה ושל חרטת החוטא, המחליט לעלות לרגל¹¹³. אין כאן לחשוב דוקא על השפעה, מכיון שהמוטיבים הרגילים הללו שאולים מחיי המוסלמים. המקדם הוא אהוב הקהל ומסמל לו את הבורגני הועיר מקהיר, המתבדח עד מהרה, אך קצת נוקם ונוטר; מוסלמי גרוע לכאורה, ואוהב בצע, אך מרומה בנקל ע"י הנזיר הקופטי הערום. זה האחרון מתואר בקוים שחורים בניגוד למקדם, ועוד יותר נורא הוא בולוס (פאולוס), בן הנזיר הקופטי: על אף גילו הרך הוא גנב ורמאי. אחותו נצלת מגורל של גנבת ופרוצה רק ע"י תעאדיר, תורכי שיכור, אך מוסלם טוב, המעביר את הצעירה לאסלאם. כאן רואים שמטרת המחזה הוא האדרת האסלאם על-חשבון הנצרות. רח'ם מזכיר את דמות ה-Kasperl, הרגילה בתיאטרון הבורבות בגרמניה, למשל¹¹⁴. המחזה עשיר בתבניות חיות ממינים שונים. בחלק הראשון של המחזה השפה היא עממית ממש, מחוץ לפרולוג ולשירים, שאינם אלא תערובת משתי השפות; אך שני החלקים האחרונים של המחזה קרובים יותר לשפת הספר, ועליכן מועלים הם לעתים רחוקות יותר.

156—157. השוה ע"ד גיבול הפה במחזות הצללים גם קרן, 1905, ע' 98. (112) פריפר הוציא לאור את "מחזה המנזר" בשם "Ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel" ארלנגן, 1906. יתכן מאד, כי המערכה הנוספת הזאת היא המתוארת בידי קרן, 1905, ע' 102—101, בתור המשך למחזה הצללים הנ"ל. (113) פריפר, שם, ע' XIV—XV. (114) שם, ע' XV—XVII. (115) קרן, 1905, ע' 101—99; פריפר, 1906, ע' 151—2. פריפר הכיר את מאמרו של קרן, אולם לא שם לב, כי קרן כבר ראה בצורה דומה את "מחזה המנזר", בשם "לעב אלבית", שם קרוב מאד

התוכן שתואר בצורה דומה גם ע"י קרן וגם ע"י פריפר, שהדפיס את המחזה 115, הוא פשוט. אחר הפרולוג מופיע הכומר הקופטי מנג'ה המספר על נפלאותיו של ישו ומבקש מהמקדם למצוא לו כברת ארץ אשר עליה יבנה מנזר. לאחר שנבנה המנזר, נותנים מנג'ה ובנו בולוס למקדם בתור תשלום שק, ובתוכו — כלב. זה נושך את המקדם ואף גונב את תרבושו. לאחר זאת מופיע תעאדיר, הנושא נאום ארוך. המקדם מתאונן לפניו על הונאתו של הכומר ותעאדיר מבטיח להחזיר לנוצרי מידה כנגד מידה: הוא מצליח להכנס למנזר, להריק שם כד-יין, השייך לכומר ולהכות אותו ואת בנו. תעאדיר חוזר על זאת שנית ואז מתערבת בדבר עלם, בתו של הכומר מנג'ה. צעירה זאת מתאהבת בתעאדיר ומלווה אותו לביתו, אולם הוא נבהל בפני החטא ונפרד ממנה. אחרי-כן הוא מתחרט על כך ומנסה להגיע אליה בהתחפשו לסוחר בחפצים שונים (הנסיון להגיע לאהובה ע"י התחפשות לסוחר, ידוע בפולקלור של עמים רבים), אולם עלם מצליחה כל פעם לגנוב ממנו את מרכולתו. תעאדיר שור לעלם שירי אהבה ומבקשה להינשא לו לפי חוקי האיסלאם. היא נאותה וכל נימוקיו של אביה הכומר (במשפטים אחדים נרמז כי אין הוא כומר נוצרי, כי אם רב יהודי) אינם מצליחים להניאה מהחלטתה להינשא לבחיר-לבה. עלם ונשי המנזר הולכות לבית-המרחץ, כדי להטהר לפני חתונתה של עלם. בשעה שזו הולכת לביתו של תעאדיר מגלה זה האחרון למקדם במקצת התפארות, את שומחתו הכפולה על רכישת אשה כמו עלם ועל הצער שגרם לאביה הכומר. לאחר הנישואין עולים שניהם למכה ובדרך נשדד ממונם בידי הבדוים. לאחר השלמת מצוות העליה לרגל, חוזרים הם לארצם.

„כרגוז“ בערבית בסוריה

שונים באופיים הם מחזות הצללים מסוריה שנאספו ע"י אנו ליטמאן, בשעות בבירות בשנות 1900—1899, כחבר המשלחת הארכיאולוגית האמקריאית בסוריה 116. בהשפעת התורכים הוצגו מחזות צללים, לפי עדויות שונות, בירושלים, יפו, חלב, בירות ודמשק, וביחוד בשתי הערים הנזכרות לאחרונה. בבירות ראה ליטמאן הצגת מחזה צללים וגם הביא עמו העתקים של שבעה מהם, אשר השתדל למצוא להם גם נוסחאות שונות 117.

קיים בודאי קשר ניכר בין מחזה הצללים והסיפור העממי, אולם רק לאחר מחקרים נוספים וגילוי חומר חדש בתיאטרון הצללים אצל הערבים, נוכל להוציא מסקנות בנידון זה. מחזות הצללים שהועלו בארץ-ישראל ובסוריה לפני קרוב ליוכל שנים, הראו מספר קוים משותפים ביניהם לבין עצמם, ונבדלו מהתורכיים בזאת שחסרו בהם תכופות הפרולוג וכן ה„מחאורה“ כיסוד עיקרי ברקע התפתחות העיניים במחזה.

ל„לעב אלדיר“. 116 ליטמאן, 1901, פתח דבר. על ספר זה כתבו בקורת ריני באסיס ב־ R. T. P. 16, 1901, ע' 597—598 וה. רייך ב־ D. L. Z., 1904, ע' 597—598. 117 ליטמאן, 1900, ע' 661 ואילך. 118 יעקוב, 1899, ע' III-XVI וביחד ע' V בו הוא מסתמך

בסוריה רגילים מחזות כרגוז, הקרובים באופיים לתורכיים. גם כרגוז וגם עיואז (הוא חאג'יואד) מזכירים דמויות מקבילות במחזות הצללים התורכיים. הן בהתנהגותם והן בדבריהם. את הכרגוז מוצאים לא רק באותם החלקים מהאימפריה העות'מאנית, הדוברים תורכית, אלא גם באותם החלקים שזונו נמצאים תחת שלטון תורכי, למשל בארצות דוברות ערבית. מחזות אלה ודומיהם הגיעו גם לפרסים, כנראה דרך התורכית האזרביג'אנית. 118. משותפות במחזות הצללים בתורכיה ובסוריה גם האהבה למכות, המצויה גם בפארסות שונות בארצות רבות 119, וגם הופעת חאג'יואד, לראשונה, בפרולוג. אמנם, לעתים חסרים בסוריה גם הפרולוג וגם המחאורה 120. חאג'יואד וכרגוז הם ידידים ושניהם סובלים מזעמן של נשותיהם. הטיפוסים הרגילים ביותר בין האחרים הם מעשן האופיום, טיפוס פאתולוגי בעל קול דק, המסתנן דרך אפו, ולצידו — אשאו או אשקו, תורכי המשמש לשמירת הסדר ונמצא ביחסים רעים עם חאג'יואד וכרגוז; מהדמויות המסרסות בפיהן את השפה הערבית מענין הרופא הזר 121.

בעיקר דומה למחזות התורכיים קטע, הידוע לנו בשתי נוסחאות. תכנו פשוט מאד ודן בהרפתקאותיהם של כרכוז (כרגוז), עיואט' (חאג'יואד) ואפיוני (מעשן האופיום). המתנהגים בצורה מבישה בבית גברת אחת 122. דומני כי הטיפוס של האגא המופיע קרוב לסוף המחזה, מזכיר בהרבה את דמותו של תחסוז דלי בקיר איש הצבא הנוהג להופיע בסוף מחזות כרגוז בתורכית. 123. נוסף על זאת, מזכיר „גירושם” מבית הגברת את דרכם של אותם המחזות התורכיים העממיים המכונים „Orta Oynu) Ojunu)”, בהם רגיל הדבר, שיזרקו את הגברים אחד אחר השני מבית הנשים 124, ומכאן עבר מוטיב זה, לפי ראות-עיני, לכרגוז התורכי ואח"כ לכרגוז בערבית. את המוטיב הזה בכרגוז התורכי אפשר למצוא במחזה צללים תורכי בשם „İki kysang qary” (שתי הנשים המקנאות) — הסרנסליטרציה

על Chodzko, Théâtre Persan. השוה יעקוב, 1900, ע"8. 119) על גורם המכות כיסוד מצחיק במחזה הצללים בערבית ובשפות אחרות עיין ליטמאן, 1902, על השימוש במכות בפארסה בעולם הקלאסי עמד ריין, 1903, 1, ע"113—114, 638—639. 120) ליטמאן, 1918. 121) ליטמאן, 1901, ע"11—3. 122) ליטמאן, 1900, ע"666—680. 123) על אודות תחסוז דלי בכיר ראה בין השאר, יעקוב, 1900, ע"27—23. 124) השוה לדוגמא, הפארסה בכתב-יד, שתוכנה נמסר ע"י סוסי, 1936, פרק 3, ע"82—78. דברי קונס, 1908, ע"9—8 על הקשר בין ה-Orta oynu וה-Commedia dell'arte מענינים, אולם סעונים עוד בירור נוסף. השוה גם ריין, 1903, כרך 1, חלק 2, ע"619—620. ספרו של קונס הוא בין המחקרים החשובים ביותר ע"ד ה-Orta oynu בתורכית. אולם אין הוא דן, כמעט, על היחס בין ה-Orta oynu והכרגוז; השוה, עכ"פ, ע"98 ואילך וע"106 ואילך מחיבורו. 125) הודס וטורגס ע"י ויסהיים, 1909, ע"744 ואילך. הודס וטורגס בצורה שונה ע"י תה. וייך, 1923, ביחוד ע"124—148; בקורת יעקוב ב-M.S.O.S., 28 חלק 2, 1925, ע"282 ואילך. שם מבקר יעקוב גם את כרך אי מספרו של ריטר, הנקרא „Karagös. Türkische Schattenspiele” (1924), אשר עליו כתב בקורת גם חלטר אייכילה ב-Der Islam, 15, 1926, ע"153—158.

לפי השיטה העתיקה). בו נזרקים לרחוב גברים שונים, ערומים, מביתן של שתי נשים. 125 או במחזה הצללים הנקרא „Cazular“ („המכשפות“) 126.

והרי בקיצור נמרץ תוכנם של מספר מחזות צללים מסוריה:

„מקבצי הנדבות“ („אלשחאדין“). חאג'יוואד מספר לכרגוז ידידו, כי אנשי העיר כועסים על בטלנותם. משום כך הוא מציע לו ללכת ולפשוט יד יחד אתו. הוא מלמדו כיצד לבקש נדבות בשפות שונות; — כאן יש מקום רב ללעג. מבלי משים, מבקש חאג'יוואד נדבה דוקא מאשתו, שאינה פותחת לו את הדלת וצונה לו כי היא ארמנית, אשר בעלה נמצא בקושטא 127. נשותיהם של חאג'יוואד וכרגוז מופיעות גם במחזות צללים תורכיים, וכמו בערביים, אין חיבה שוררת בין שתי הגשים הללו ובעליהן והמריבות תוכפות עליהם 128.

„אפרנג'ון“, הרופא הזר. כרגוז מרגיש את עצמו ברע. עיוואז יועץ לאשת כרגוז לפנות לרופא הנוצרי הזר שבא זה עתה לעיר והכריו, כי ידרוש כסף רק ממי שירפא לגמרי (דמות הרופא הנוצרי מצויה גם במחזות כרגוז תורכיים 129). כרגוז ואשתו הולכים לרופא ומתעוררת פרשת אי־הבנות ביניהם. לאחר חזרו הביתה רב כרגוז עם עיוואז על עצתו הנלווה 130.

„אלאפיוני“, מעשן האופים. לא היה טיפוס נדיר בתורכיה במשך שנים רבות, אם כי בשנים האחרונות הוא בהרבה פחות מצוי. דמות זו היתה החביבה ביותר בין הטיפוסים הפאתולוגיים שהועלו בכרגוז התורכי ובהשפעת זה האחרון — גם במחזה הצללים הערבי בעיקר בסוריה ובטוניס 131. אלצפיוני מפתה את עיוואז לגמול חשיש ואופיום, עד ששניהם משתכרים ונרדמים. בא כרגוז, שתוי אף הוא, ומתחיל להכות אותם 132. כדאי לציין, כי מעשן האופיום נרדם על הבמה גם במחזות תורכיים לא־מעטים. השוה למשל המחזה „Cesme yahut Kūtahiya“ („הבאר או כיוטהיה“) — היא עיר מפורסמת בבארותיה 133 ו־„Kayik“ („הסירה“) 134.

„בית המרחץ“ („אלחמאם“). עיוואז וכרגוז מתוכחים ביניהם לאיזה בית מרחץ ללכת. לבסוף מחליטים הם, לפי הצעת עיוואז, ללכת לבית־מרחץ הנמצא מתחת לאדמה. בעל בית־המרחץ דורש מהם להביא עמם את כל המכשירים הנחוצים לרחיצה (מים וכו') וחרב ומגן, כדי לגרש את השודים הנמצאים בבית־המרחץ. 135

„סעודת הערב“ („אלסהרה“). עיוואז מזמין את כרגוז להצטרף אליו לביקור ולהשתתפות בסעודת ערב. כרגוז נענה, אולם עיוואז נכנס בלעדיו ואחר

126) הודפס ותורגם ע"י ריסר, 1941, ע' 171—128. 127) ליטמאן, 1901, ע' 23—16. 128) יעקוב, 1900, ע' 39. 129) לדיוגמא, שם, ע' 34. 130) ליטמאן, 1901, ע' 35—24. 131) ראה הדוגמאות והביבליוגרפיה אצל יעקוב, 1900, ע' 39—38. 132) ליטמאן, 1901, ע' 43—36. 133) ריסר, 1941, ע' 88. 134) שם, ע' 254 וע' 256. 135) ליטמאן.

זאת קורא לו בשם גנב בפני בעל הבית, אשר מצוה לעבדו להלקות את כרגוז¹³⁶.
 "הקרשים" ("אלח'שבאת"). אשקו שוכר את עיואז ואת כרגוז לסחוב
 למענו חבילת קרשים. הם מוכרים את הקרשים ומצליחים לסחוט מאשקו כספים
 פעם אחרי פעם בטענות מפולפלות שונות.¹³⁷ קטע דומה מאד מצא ליטמאן
 בסיפור ירושלמי על-אודות כראכו ועואז¹³⁸. מענין לתולדות התחלפותן של
 העובדות באגדות לציין את מציאותה של אגדה על-דבר הסלטאן, וזירו ושני השחקנים
 קארא-גוז ואיואס¹³⁹.

תיאטרון הצללים בצפון אפריקה

אם באמת עבר תיאטרון הצללים מהמזרח למערב והגיע במאה השבע-
 עשרה לאיטליה, כפי המקובל לחשוב, הרי שאחת הדרכים האפשריות, הנראות לי,
 היא צפון אפריקה. הנחה זו מתקבלת על הדעת לא רק בגלל האינפורמציה שבידינו
 על מגע תכוף בין איטליה וצפון אפריקה, אלא גם נוכח העובדה של העושר במחזות
 הצללים במצרים. הנחה זו תתחזק, אם נוכל להביא ידיעות ע"ד קיומו של תיאטרון
 צללים גם בצפון-מערב-אפריקה, בעיקר באלג'יר ובטוניס. גם במרוקו הוצגו
 מחזות צללים נחמדים — אגדות מ-אלף לילה ולילה ומשלי חיות — אך האינפור-
 מציה בידינו בענין זה קלושה.

מעטות הן ידיעותינו ע"ד התפתחות התיאטרון הזה ומצבו. באלג'יר מתאר
 Pückler-Muskau הצגת כרגוז מיום 17 לינואר 1835, מלאה בניבול-פה גם
 בין כרגוז לבין אל האדמה הפורייה (הקשר בין המימוס ובין אל הפוריות מצוי כבר
 במשחקים מימיים עתיקים מימי יון.¹⁴⁰). בסוף המחזה מגרש הגבור הענק כרגוז
 יחידת צבא צרפתי, הבאה לאסרו, בחבטו בחיילים באל האדמה, המשמש לו מקל¹⁴¹.
 במחזות אחרים באלג'יר מופיע בקביעות השטן בתלבושת צרפתית¹⁴².
 כנראה שיחסם של המחזות לצבא הצרפתי ולעגם לו גרמו לזאת, שהשלטונות
 הצרפתיים אסרו על הצגת מחזות צללים, בשנת 1843¹⁴³. כך הלך לעולמו תיאטרון
 הצללים באלג'יר לפני קצת יותר ממאה שנה, אף כי הצגות נערכו עוד בסתר¹⁴⁴.
 מכל האמור יוצא כי כרגוז מופיע באלג'יר בנושא טענות העם נגד השלטונות
 המדכאים אותו.

בניגוד ל"כרגוז" בסוריה, הרי מחזה הצללים בטוניס, אף הוא מסוג הכרגוז,
 אינו רוקע יריעה של לעג למנהגים ולהשקפות, אלא מגבב חידודי לשון פורנו-

1901, ע' 44—49. (136) שם, ע' 55—50. 137. שם, ע' 63—56. (138) שם,
 ע' 64—67. דוגמאות מהאגדה העממית בדבר כרגוז בדיאלקט הארמי החדש, המדובר בטור עבדין,
 ראה פרימ, 1881, 1, ע' 154—156, 2, (תרנוס), ע' 226—223. (139) פטרמאן, 1865,
 כרך 1, ע' 26 וע' 164—165. (140) רייך, 1903, כרך 1, חלק 1, ע' 18 ואילך. השוה,
 פליגל, 1914, כרך 1, ע' 26 ואילך. (141) פיקלר-מוסקאו, 1836, כרך 1, ע' 135.
 (142) רייך, 1903, כרך 1, חלק 2, ע' 641. (143) או. שפיז, 1928, ע' 695, מסתמך על
 פיזה, 1882, ע' 38. ראה גם יעקוב, 1900, ע' 9. (144) ברנארד, 1887, ע' 67—66; על ספר

גרפיים.¹⁴⁵ יתכן מאד, כי הרמזים הפורנוגרפיים הללו מעידים על רמתו התרבותית הירודה של חלק גדול מבני טונים. מצבו של תיאטרון הצללים בטונים בכלל, ובדור האחרון בפרט, הוא עלוב. רק בחודש רמ'אן, כשמחפשים בשעות הערב שעשועים לאחר הצום הממושך (ויש שהשלטונות יצו על סגירת כל מקומות השעשועים בשעות היום באותו חודש¹⁴⁶), מציגים הצגות כאלה. וזאת בניגוד לתורכיה ולמצרים, בהן תועלינה הצגות הצללים גם בחגיגות של חתונה או ברית מילה. אולם תמורת תשלום, מוכנים השחקנים בתיאטרון הצללים בטונים לתראות את יכלתם¹⁴⁷.

לפי הזכרת תיאטרון הצללים בטונים בספרות המסעות, הרי היה תיאטרון זה נפוץ באותה ארץ בראשית המאה שעברה ואף במחציתה. בשנת 1870 מספר היינריך פון מאלצאן על-אודות הצגות הכרגוז, שראה זמן מה לפני-כן בטונים. לפי דבריו, חביבות הצגות אלו בכל מחזות האיסלאם, ביחוד בימי רמ'אן. השיא הוא בהצגת בובות, המבוצעת במחזה-צללים. זה הוא שעשוע שהובא לטונים בימי שלטון התורכים; שלבי התהליך לוטים בערפל¹⁴⁸. הדמות העיקרית היא כרגוז, איש מכוער וחסר-חן, אשר הופעתו המשוונה מביאה את רואיו האירופאים להשתוממות ולהתמרמרות. מפליא גם דמיונו לאל-הגנים הקדום. אמנם, איזו המוסלמים בטונים רואים כל אי-מוסריות בניבול הפה שבמחזות הכרגוז ושולחים את ילדיהם לראות במחזות, ¹⁴⁹ ממש כפי שהיה נעשה גם באלג'יר עד שפקדו השלטונות הצרפתיים לא להציג מחזות צללים בפומבי, ¹⁵⁰ וממש כמו שהיה נהוג בתורכיה¹⁵¹. לעומת-זאת אין הנשים מרבות לבקר במחזות הצללים, ממש כפי שלא השתתפו בטונים באותם הימים ברוב שעשועי הגברים. בניגוד לזאת מספר ואמפירי, ששהה שנים רבות בתורכיה והתמחה בבעיות המזרח, כי להצגות הכרגוז באות ברצון ובמספר ניכר גם נשים וילדות.¹⁵²

במרבית מחזות הכרגוז בטונים היו כחמשה-עשר טיפוסים קבועים. תמיד מופיע כרגוז, הדומה לתורכי, ומכיון שהומצא ע"י התורכים — הוא תמיד המצליח ביותר, והוא מתגרה באחרים ומרמה אותם, גונב מהם ומכה אותם. יש לציין שכמעט לעולם אין מוסלם מופיע בתפקידים של הטיפוסים הסופגים לעג או מלקות מידי כרגוז; יהודי מופיע תמיד ולעתים קרובות גם יהודיה ושניהם מתכוונים להערים

זה ראה ר. באסיט ב: R. T. P., 16, 1901, ע' 597. ¹⁴⁵ פליגל, 1914, 2, ע' 10. ¹⁴⁶ The Palestine Post, 10.10.1944. ¹⁴⁷ שפי, 1928, ע' 694. הוזה, עכ"פ, לענין מועד הצגתם של מחזות הצללים בתורכיה יעקוב, 1899, ההקדמה, ע' V—VI. ¹⁴⁸ Jacob, שם, ע' V והערה 5 באותו העמוד; שם ע' VII. Jacob, 1900, ע' 14—15. ¹⁴⁹ פון מאלטצאן, 1870, 1, ע' 234. לתקופה מאוחרת יותר שפי, 1928, ע' 695. גם ליטמאן, 1900, ע' 662 מתפלא, שלשים שנה לאחר זאת, למספרם הרב של הילדים בגיל 10—15, שביקרו בהצגת מחזה צללים בבירות. ¹⁵⁰ ברנרד, 1887, ע' 67. ¹⁵¹ de Neuville, 1892, ע' 70. Tevfik, 1905, ע' 59. ¹⁵² Vambéry, 1876, ע' 34. הוזה, 1892, ע' 70. לגבי ביקור נשים בתיאטרון הצללים באלג'יר, עיין ברנארד, 1887, ע' 67. ¹⁵³ פון מאלטצאן, 1870, ע' 233—237.

על כרגוז; אך זה האחרון מגלה את מזימתם ומעטה עליהם חרפה. עוד יותר לועגים בכרגוז הטוניסאי למלתזים, הפרולטריאט של האירופאים הנוצריים. בלעגם למלתזים אשר אתם באים הם במגע יום-יומי, נהנים המוסלמים על-חשבון כל הנוצרים מאירופה, שבאו לטוניס. ה"מאדאמה" (Madama) — כנוי איטלקי בפי הטוניסאים לציון אירופאית) לובשת קרינולינה רחבה ולרוב חלקה רע ומר, כיון שהיא מעוררת את סקרנותו של כרגוז; וגם אם היא מנסה לרמותו או לשחק ברגשותיו, מראה הוא כי אינו נופל ממנה בחכמתו, בסופו של דבר, היות ואינו משלם לה אף פרוטה.

בזמן שבשנות העשרים של האמה התשע-עשרה הוצגו בטוניס מחזות הצללים בתורכית, הרי בשעה שראה אותם פון מאלצאן, הם הוצגו רק בדיאלקט הטוניסאי. מנהל הכרגוז ידע לא רק להעלות או להריד את קולו, אלא גם לחקות את דרך דיבורם בערבית טוניסאית של בני עממים שונים, וביניהם יהודי ובן-מרוקו, מלתזי וערבי כפרי. אין השתלשלות מאורעות, המגיעה לשיא, אלא המחזה מורכב כולו מסצינות חסרות כמעט כל קשר ביניהן. ברובן מופיע כרגוז, המנצח בעזרת חידודי לשונו השנונה או בעזרת אגרופו ושוטו, אשר בהם חובט הוא בשאר הבובות. במכות כאלו מסתיים, בדרך כלל, מחזה הצללים הטוניסאי. ההומור של כרגוז יבש ואינו מצטיין בשאר-רוח. נימה מוסרית אינה חסרה בדמות של כרגוז, כי הוא מעניש במכות או בגנבות כל מי שרצה להערים עליו או לשדוד את הונו. 153.

לפי כל הידיעות, 154 (הייתי מוסיף: וגם לפי חוסר כל ידיעות, כמעט 155), ירד מאד תיאטרון הצללים בחשיבותו מאז ביקר פון מאלצאן בטוניס בסוף העשיריה השביעית של המאה שעברה ועד לבואו של אוטו שפיז לאותו המקום. זה האחרון חקר בשנת 1927 את תיאטרון הצללים בטוניס ובקירואן, נוכח בהצגות צללים וביקש שיכתבו לו את תכנם 156. לדבריו, אין להלל את התבניות המופיעות במחזות הצללים בטוניס. הן גסות ופרימיטיביות ועשויות חמר; על-כן גם אינן שקופות. למרות זאת, מרהיבות הן את העין ומתאימות כראוי למחזה צללים. בתור שחקנים. רגילים מאד כאראגוז (גם: כאראכון) 157 וחאזיואז (בקירואן: חאג'יואש וגם חאזיואן), שניהם ידועים יפה ממחזות הצללים בתורכית.

מחזות צללים מטוניס לא נדפסו, והשחקנים אינם משתמשים בהצגותיהם אפילו בתכנית כללית, קל וחומר שאין הם מעיינים בכתב-היד. תוכן מחזות-

154) שפיז, 1928, ע' 695. 155) לא רק שתתירים ממעטים להזכיר את תיאטרון הצללים, כי מכאן אין עדיין להביא ראיה; אבל אופייני לזאת כי חוקר הפולקלור הטוניסאי האנס שטומה, שפרסם מחקרים שונים בסוף המאה שעברה על השירה והפרוזה הטוניסאית לסוגיהן, איננו מקדיש שום מקום למחזות הצללים ואפילו — לפי מיטב ידיעתי — אינו מזכירם כלל. 156) שפיז, 1928, ע' 964. 157) לפי ליטמאן, 1901, ע' 7, מבטאים במגרב שם זה גם כרגוס וגם גרגוז, — ביטוי האות ג במקום האות קוף בערבית מדוברת אינו נדיר. 158) שפיז, 1928, ע' 695—697. 159) לפי ליטמאן, 1901, ע' 664; ביחס לתורכיה

הצללים עובר במסורת שבעל-פה ונעזר בכוח האימפרוביזציה של השחקן. משום כך רבות הנוסחאות של אותו מחזה עד שאין לראות שתי הצגות שוות של מחזה אחד. תו מאפיין זה הוטבע על התפתחותו של מחזה הצללים במזרח בכלל 158 (ליטמאן מציין כי בבירות רגילים השחקנים להאריך או לקצר את מחזות הצללים כרצונם 159). תכנם של מחזות הצללים הללו הוא נאיבי ופשוט. הסצינות קשורות ביניהן מבחינה חיצונית בלבד. עיקר משיכתו של תיאטרון הצללים בטונים הוא בסצינות העליזות הבודדות ולא בתוכן הכללי של המחזה. יש להדגיש כי מחזה הצללים בטונים מתאר את דמויותיו, כמובן, כאפריקאים, המהווים את הדמויות החביבות ביותר על תיאטרון הצללים בטונים. לארנאוטי במחזה הצללים התורכי מתאים במחזה הצללים הטוניסאי ברבר ממרוקו, המנפנף אף הוא, בדרך-כלל. בחרבו. נוסף על הטיפוסים הנ"ל מופיעים גם מלתזים, כושים, רקדנית משבט אולאד ניל, ועוד 160.

רק מספר מועט של מחזות צללים ידוע לנו מטונים. "מחזה הלימונים" ו"מחזה האניה בים" הוכתבו לשפיו ע"י טוניסאי בסוף שנות החמשים שלו, אשר לא עזב מעולם את טונים ולא ידע קרוא וכתוב, — הוכחה ששפתו תהיה עממית טהורה. בחייו הפרטיים היה קצב, אך הציג מחזות צללים כל חודש רמציאן במשך שלשים שנה. "מחזה בית-המרחץ" ו"מחזה ציד-הדגים" הוכתבו לו ע"י קיראני באמצע שנות הארבעים שלו, סנדלר לפי מקצועו, שהציג כבר עשר שנים מחזות צללים. 161

"מחזה הלימונים". כרגוז דופק על שערו של גן הלימונים אשר לחאג'יוואז. יחד אתו בא גם האריס של גן הלימונים ורוצה לשלם את דמי האריסות. כרכוז מנסה לקחת את הכסף בכוח, ונהרג. במערכה השנייה קם כרכוז מארון המתים ומכה את מלויו במקלו. אלה בורחים בבהלה ומשאירים חלק מבגדיהם על הבמה 162. המוטיב האחרון הזה נמצא גם במחזה צללים אשר ראה אותו בטונים Paul Arène במחצית השנייה של המאה שעברה 163. האמונה העממית בדבר תחיתו של מת משתקפת גם במחזה צללים ממצרים, הנקרא "רואיה אבן ג'עפר" 164.

"מחזה בית-המרחץ" ("לעבת אלחמאם"). חאג'יוואז מנגן בחלילו. הוא קורא לכרכוז ולאחר שמחליפים ביניהם כמה בדיחות מפולפלות, מציע חאג'יוואז לכרכוז לפתוח ביחד בית-המרחץ ויחלקו את הרוחים. בסצינה הבאה רוצה כרכוז להיכנס לבית-המרחץ, בשעה שנשים רוחצות בתוכו, אך אשת חג'יוואז אינה מניחה לו, אף כי מניחה היא לטיפוסים אחרים, והם: ערבי, הודי, מלתזי, ולבסוף — יהודי, שכרכוז מנסה להסתתר מאחוריו ולהיכנס. כשאנינו מצליח, מביא הוא את השלטונות, בהאשימו את אשת חג'יוואז, שהפכה את בית-המרחץ לבית-בושת. אחד

עיי' יעקוב, 1900, ע' 44—47. (160) יעקוב, שם ע' 36; יעקוב, 1899, ההקדמה, ע' IX; שפיו, 1928, ע' 697. (161) שפיו, שם. (162) שם, ע' 697—698. (163) אריין, 1884, לפי י. רייך, 1903, ע' 666. (164) קרן, 1905.

אחר משנהו יוצאים הגברים מבית-המרחץ. המחזה מסתיים במכות בין חאג'ואו הנעלב לבין כרכוז.¹⁶⁵

המחזה האחרון דומה למחזה הצללים התורכי העממי הנקרא „Hamam Oyu“. במחזה התורכי שכר חאג'ואו בית-מרחץ והוא ממנה מספר משרתים למשרות שונות. גם כרגוז רוצה במשרה, אך מגרשים אותו. במערכה השניה באים לבית-המרחץ טיפוסים שונים, רגילים בקושטא: יונים, ארמנים, יהודים, ערבים. גם כרגוז בא, אך מגרשים אותו, אפילו אחרי שמנסה הוא להיכנס בלבוש אשה. כרגוז עולה על כיפת הזכוכית של ביוז-וזמוזוז, לועג למתרחצים ונופל דרך הזכוכית לבין המתרחצים הנבהלים. רק חאג'ואו מצילו מידי השוטר.¹⁶⁶

„מחזה האניה בים“ („לעבת אלמרכב פי אלבחר“). אחד אחר רעהו, באים כרגוז, כושי והיהודי אל חאג'ואו ומבקשים לעבוד באניתו. במערכה ב' מפריע הכושי בקריאותיו לכרכוז לצוד את הדג. כרכוז מבטיח לו תרבוש ונעלים אדומות; אח"כ הוא צד את הדג והם הולכים ומוכרים אותו. במערכה ג' בא כרכוז לחאג'ואו ומודיע לו, כי האניה צללה במים. הם רבים ומכים האחד את משנהו, עד שהולכים הם למושל.¹⁶⁷

„מחזה ציד הדגים“ („לעבת ציד אלחות“). חאג'ואו בא אל כרכוז ומבקש ממנו לצוד בעבורו דגים. כרכוז נעתר לדבריו. במערכה ב' מושכים כרכוז וכושי אחד במשוט; והכושי, בנסותו לדוג דגים, מצליח רק להבריחם. כרכוז מקללו ומצליח לצוד שלשה דגים. במערכה האחרונה מופיע שוב חאג'ואו ורב עם כרכוז כיצד למכור את הדגים או איך להיכנס לארוחה. המחזה מסתיים במכות.¹⁶⁸ נראה לי, כי היסודות העיקריים של שני מחזות הצללים הנזכרים לאחרונה התמזגו ונוספו עליהם עוד כמה קישוטים במחזה צללים בשם „מחזה הדג“ („לעבת אלחותה“). את המחזה הזה ראה בטוניס קורט לוי בשנת 1929, זמן קצר לאחר ביקוריו של שפיז.¹⁶⁹ ערך דבריו גדול עוד יותר לנוכח מיעוט החומר הנמצא בידינו בענין זה. בנוסח האחרון הזה הנושא הוא יותר חד-צדדי ועל-כן זרוע הוא בהומור יבש, המשמש דוגמה להומור העממי של בני טוניס. מנהל-ההצגה, אלהאדי, בא לטוניס ממרחקים ובדיאלקט שלו הורגשה יפה נעימה מרוקנית. הוא הסביר, כי שתי הצגות הצללים המקובלות ביותר היו „מחזה בית-המרחץ“ ו„מחזה הדג“. התפאורות לשני המחזות הללו היו פשוטות: בשביל הראשון נחוץ בית בעל גג שטוח, שחציו הימני מכוסה בכיפה. לשני נחוצה סירה, שבחלקה האחורי יושב כושי והגה בידו ולפניו עומד בן-אדם, המחזיק חכה בידו. לפני החכה שוחה דג. מוט, המחובר לסירה ולדג, מאפשרים להניע אותם. ברור, שכל הסיפורים האלה פרימיטיביים מאד.

ע"י 102—103. (165 שפיז, 1928, ע"י 700—701. (166 שם, ע"י 701. מחזה צללים זה הוא הראשון בין המודפסים ע"י קונס, 1886. השוה גם סוסיי, 1936, ע"י 88—89. (167 שפיז, שם, ע"י 699—700. (168 שם, ע"י 698—699. (169 לוי, 1935,

„במחזה הדג“ מתוארים עבד ואדוניו, הנמצאים בסירה. בשעה שהאדון מתכופף לצוד את הדג, מניע הכושי את הסירה, והדג נמלט. אדוניו כועס, והכושי, מסעוד שמו, מסביר כי רוצה הוא כובע אדום ותרבוש ירוק. שוב מתקרב הדג לחכה, ומסעוד שוב מנענע את הסירה. הדג נמלט גם הפעם; והאדון מבטיח שיתן לו אשה, כדי שיהיו לו ילדים. הדבר חוזר פעמים מספר, ולמסעוד יש שפע של שאלות ובקשות: מדוע אין האשה כאן בסירה? מדוע אין לאשה ילדים לפני הגישואין? האם יופיעו הילדים כבר בבוקר הראשון אחר ליל הגישואין? איך נוהגים בני אדם להתיחס אל נשותיהם? יראה לו אדוניו מה ההבדל בין גבר לאשה! יהיה גם הוא, מסעוד, לבעלה של אשת אדוניו! כאן פוקעת סבלנות אדוניו של מסעוד, ושניהם מסתלקים מבלי לצוד את הדג. 170. כפי המתברר, נוטה מחזה זה לעורר גיחוך ע"י חזרה על גורם מצחיק אחד; מתכון הוא גם לעורר את היצרים ע"י רמזים ושאלות בדבר יחסים שבין איש ואשתו. כך עלול מחזה זה לעורר הנאה בקהל צופים פרימיטיבי. כנראה שבזאת אפשר להסביר את התחבבותו של „מחזה הדג“ על בני טונים: זמן ניכר לפני ביקורם של שפיו ולוי בטונים ראה את אותו מחזה הצללים בהבדלים מסוימים Arène הנ"ל 171.

ה„כרגוז“ בארץ ישראל

למזלנו, יש לנו ידיעות על-דבר מחזה הצללים בארץ-ישראל דוקא מהשנים האחרונות. אף כי יתכן מאד שהיה קיים כבר בימי התורכים. המלה „כרכוז“ מסמנת עד היום „חגיגה“ בערבית המדוברת בארץ-ישראל ובפי ילדי הערבים בארץ-ישראל. רוב ההצגות הן, כמובן, בחודש רמז'אן ואז תעלינה לארץ-ישראל להקות שחקני הצללים מהארצות הערביות השכנות.

מחזה הצללים חביב על ערבי ירושלים, המבקרים בהצגות כרגוז בעיר העתיקה ונהנים בנעריהם ובזקניהם, לפי עדותו של תה. פ. מ. (כנראה, מיזלס 172). מר גדעון ויגרט מזכיר הצגת מחזות צללים בעיר העתיקה בירושלים ברמז'אן שנת 1944. סורי ניהל את ההצגה, והועלו מחזות צללים היסטוריים וסטיריים פעמיים בכל ערב. ההצגה הראשונה לילדים, והשניה — למבוגרים 173.

התבניות והתלבשות

תיאטרון הצללים היה עלול לעורר התנגדות בין החוגים המוסלמיים האדוקים, בגלל עשית התבניות. אם כי נחקקו חוקים נגד הצגת מחזות צללים, נמצאו מגינים לדרך השעשועים הזאת שהסבירו, כי רק יצורים בעלי כוח חיות

170) הטכסט—כנראה לא של כל המחזה — מובא שם ע"י 120—122, והתרגום בעי 122—124, עם תמונות ושרטוטים. 171) השוה רייך, 1903, 1, ע"י 664—666. 172) 13.9.1943.

The Palestine Post, ע"י 4, הסיפור מובא ע"י מיזלס במאמרו „Karageez and King Solomon; Topical Court Case Dramatized“ אינו אלא פרי הדמיון של מחברו. 173) 31.8.1944, The Palestine Post, ע"י 4. הנני רואה חובה נעימה לעצמי להודות כאן למר ויגרט על הואילו להראות לי את מאמרו וכן

אסור לבנות. על-כן חקקו חור בחזה התבנית או בבטנה, גם כשלא לצורך שרביטו של מנהל ההצגה. תבניות מחזות הצללים רבות יותר אצל הערבים והתורכים מאשר אצל הפרסים. אף-על-פי-כן, ברור כמעט, כי אמנות גזירת התבניות במערב אירופה — בפרס מקורה. במאה השבע-עשרה מראים הגיר הלבן על רקע צבעוני, המוטיבים והשימוש בתבניות בתור קישוט לספר, על קשר בין פרס וארצות מערב אירופה. מאידך, קיימים קשרים, המתבררים מתוך ריבוי העדויות, בין עבודת הגזירה בגיר ועבודת הגזירה בעור, כפי שהוכח מתוך הדמויות החלולות העתיקות אשר במחזות הצללים שנתגלו ע"י קאהלי במצרים: אלו, כשלעצמן, מזכירות את תוצרתו של המזרח הרחוק.

בדרך-כלל, מצויה מידה גדושה של פרימיטיביות בתבניות, אשר מופיעות במחזות הצללים בערבית. אמנם, במצרים יש בהן מהאמנות: אלו הנראות בשנים האחרונות עובדו לפי דוגמה מראשית המאה השמונה-עשרה; אך התבניות, אשר השתמשו בהן במצרים במשחקי צללים מאות שנים, מעובדות לפי דוגמאות עתיקות יותר. פחות משוכללות הן התבניות בארצות דוברות ערבית אחרות. בטוניס, למשל, חתוכות הן, לרוב, מעור כחול כהה, חסרות פרקים ואין להן סגנון נאה. אבל הטובות בתבניות הערביות והתורכיות, לעומת זאת, שקופות וצבועות בצבעים שונים, המבצבצים גם דרך המסך. 174.

מעטות ידיעותינו על תלבשותיהן של התבניות, אף כי היו השחקנים משתמשים בתלבשות צבעוניות, אשר יש שנראה כדוגמתן גם במחזות הצללים המוצגים בימינו. עוד יותר דלות ידיעותינו בדבר המוסיקה שהיתה מלווה את מחזות הצללים, אולם ברור שלא זמירות בלבד, אלא גם נגינות, השתלבו במחזה 175.

סיכום

מתוך החומר המועט הנמצא ברשותנו, קשה להראות על התפתחות מודרנית של אותו שעשוע עממי הקרוי "מחזה צללים". אם כי בתחילתו, יתכן כי משחק הצללים הערבי ממצרים השפיע על התורכי, הרי במשך שנות שלטונה של תורכיה על אסיה הקדמית וצפון אפריקה, הצליח הכרגוז התורכי להתוות סימן השפעה ברור על מחזה הצללים הערבי, ובעיקר על זה שהיה מוצג בשלשת הדורות האחרונים בארץ-ישראל ובסוריה, באלג'יר ובטוניס.

משחק הצללים הערבי והתורכי מבוסס על חומר שאוב מהספרות של הרומאנים והפארסות בפרסית ובשפות אחרות ובאופן כלל — מהספרות העממית. דוגמת האגדות והמעשיות ב"אלף לילה ולילה". לכן מצויים במחזות-הצללים

על חביבותו ועל נכונותו לסייע לי. G. d. S. (174) ע' 106—104. יעקוב, 1913, ע' 10. I. S. E., קאהלי, ב"Der Islam, 1910, ע' 264—299, 1911, ע' 181—143. חומר ביבלר גרפי נוסף על-אודות תבניות הכרגוז אצל התורכים ראה אצל יעקוב, 1899, ההקדמה, ע' VI, הערה 1. G.d.S. (175) ע' 105—107.

יסודות שונים האחד ממשנהו, וכן מוטיבים שונים ברמתם האמנותית ובגבהם המוסרי. משום כך יש להיזהר מאד בעריכת מחקר פולקלורי רציני במחזות הצללים, מכיון שיתכן כי מחזות שונים במקומות מרוחקים דומים זה לזה, בהיותם יצירת אותו בן-אדם או בהיותם מושפעים ממחזה עממי ממקום אחר ולא בהיותם יצירה עממית, שנתחברה באותה רוח במקומות שונים.

הגורם העיקרי המשותף בכל המחזות הוא ההומור. רק לעתים נובע הוא מתוך אירוניה דקה. לרוב מעוררים את הצחוק ע"י חיקויים של דמויות מההמון. צורה זו של הפארסה ידועה עוד בזמנים קדומים, והתפתחותה הראתה גיוונים שונים מבלי לשנות את יסוד הגיחוך שבה. בתיאטרון הצללים מבחינה אמנותית—אפשרויות קומיות חשובות אחרות, הטבועות בעצם מהותו של התיאטרון הזה: ציור ותנועה, חיקוי בצורות שונות, שירה ומוסיקה.

היסודות המצחיקים במחזות הצללים הם רבים ויש לזכור כי מכוונים הם לקהל הערבי הפשוט דוקא, עם דרך המחשבה המיוחדת לו, אמונתו וגישתו לחיים. חוץ מהמגוון מבחינה פיזית (ענק, גמד, אברים בולטים), מצחיקות גם טעויות אינטלקטואליות: אי הבנות לשוניות או תפיסת התוכן מבלי לרדת לעומקו; לשון נופל על לשון, סטירה על מנהגים (ולאו דוקא בענינים מדיניים), אירוניה ופרודיה, לא רק על הזרים, כי אם גם על החולשות האנושיות וליקויי האופי. תמונות עממיות — כגון שוק, בית מרחץ, בית קפה — מאפשרות שילובו של הומור במחזה הצללים, וגם המנגינות והזמירות השזורות במחזה מחיות אותו. הטיפוס המרכזי במחזות הצללים בערבית — כרגוז או הטיפוסים המקבילים לו במצרים — שייך לסוג ידוע של מימוס, אשר האופסצניות שלו מראה השפעה ברורה מהמימוס היווני. בניגוד למוקיון האויל, השם את עצמו ללעג, הרי כרגוז יודע שהוא כסיל ומתבדח גם על עצמו וגם על חשבון טפשותם של אחרים. דבריו רוויים בהומור עממי ובאירוניה עממית. בזאת מזכיר הוא את הקו האפייני ביותר ב-Pulcinell באיטליה, ב-Polichinelle בצרפת, ב-Punch בבריטניה וב-Kasperl בגרמניה. בשעה שבתורכיה, בהשפעת הדמות שהוצבה ע"י ביונץ, התפתח ה"כרגוז" מדמויות קלושות לטיפוסים קבועים, ממש כמו בואג'אנג ביאווה, הרי במצרים עוד לא הגיעה ההתגבשות לאותה דרגה, וב"מחזות הצללים" המוצגים במצרים מופיעות דמויות עממיות רבות וחסרות גוון מיוחד.

למרות הענין שאפשר למצוא בתוך רקמת מחזות הצללים הערביים מבחינה תרבותית-עממית, הרי אופיו של כל מחזה-צללים בפני עצמו הוא חד-גוני במקצת, ביחוד בגלל ריבוי החזרות. אלו הן חלק מהטבע הערבי, המעדיף לחזות בהתפתחות אטית על הבמה מאשר בהשתנות דרמטית במהירותה. אהבת החזרות אצל הערבים משתקפת יפה גם במוסיקה שלהם, ויתכן שסיבתה גם בנטיה טבעית וגם בדרגת תרבות פרימיטיבית יותר, ממש כמו שהתינוק אוהב להאזין לאותו הסיפור פעמים רבות, למען לא יתעייף מהמאמץ השכלי בשמיעת דברים חדשים.

תיאטרון הצללים הולך ונעלם מתחת לשפע התרבות המערבית והשעשועים המציפים את ארצות ערב, בעיקר כאשר השכבות המשכילות מבכרות את אותם השעשועים על פני תיאטרון הצללים, אשר בהצגותיו מבקרים ביחוד בני דלת העם מהכפר. לשעשוע עממי זה, אשר ספק אם עוד נשמע על קיומו כעבור שנים אחדות, השתדלתי להציב זכר במחקרי הקצר.

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their Shadow Plays, the characters are taken from a great variety of popular types without possessing any special colour.

In spite of the interest which lies in the Arabic Shadow Plays, in their popular culture, the individual plays as such are somewhat monotonous, especially on account of undue repetitions. This is part of the Arab's nature. He prefers gradual and slow development on the stage to lightning dramatical changes. The Arab's fondness for repetition is also expressed in his music, and it is possible that the reason lies in a natural inclination as well as in the primitive stage of his culture, just as an infant likes to hear the same tale again so as not to tire himself by the mental effort of absorbing novel ideas.

The Shadow Play Theatre is on the point of becoming extinct under the influence of Western Culture, the amusements of which are flooding the Arab countries. This development is accelerated by the fact that the educated classes much prefer the new types of amusements, leaving the Shadow Play Theatre to the poorest classes of the people. To this popular amusement which may be entirely extinct in the very near future, I have tried to call attention in this short work of research.

their themes, their artistic level and their degree of morality differ vastly. For this reason, the research into the folk-lore of Shadow Plays should be conducted with caution, because it would be quite possible to find identical plays performed in countries, far apart, for the simple reason that they were written by the same author. It is also not infrequent that plays given in one country used common folk-lore material from a foreign source, without thus being a local popular creation.

The common element of all Shadow Plays is humour. Only rarely does it come from mild irony. Mostly it obtains its laugh-effects by imitating characters from the common people. This form of Farce was quite well-known in olden times and its development showed different forms without deviating from its basic sense of humour. From an artistic point of view, there are in the Shadow Play Theatre important possibilities which have their root in the very existence of the Theatre as such: painting and movement, imitation in various forms, and song as well as music generally.

Shadow Plays abound in a great variety of humorous motives and it should be remembered that they are mainly intended for a simple Arab audience, with its own peculiar mentality, its beliefs and its slant on life. Apart from the teratological elements (giant, dwarf, protruding limbs), intellectual slips are also applied as a humour stimulant: misunderstandings in language, or a grasping of matter without further elaborations, a bedlam of simultaneous shouts, vilification of customs (not in political matters only) irony and parody, not confined to strangers but illuminating the frailties of human beings and the conflicts of their characters. Popular backgrounds like the market, the Bath house and the Coffee house help the development of humour in a Shadow Play, and to no small measure are they enlivened by music and song.

The central character in the Arab Shadow Play is Karagöz, or, in Egypt, parallel types who belong to a certain type of Mime whose obscenity points to an undeniable influence emanating from the Greek Mime. In contrast to the silly clown who invites derision, Karagöz knows well that he is a Fool, and his jokes are on himself as well as on the stupidity of others. His words are rich in popular humour and irony. In this he resembles the most characteristic trait of the Italian Pulcinell, the French Polichinelle, the British Punch and the German Kasperl. Whilst in Turkey, under the influence of the image coloured by the Byzantine era, Karagöz developed from more or less vague characters to permanent ones, somewhat as in the Wajang, in Java. In Egypt this crystallisation had not reached the same level and in

the connection between Persia and the countries of Western Europe. From a wealth of evidence, it is thus established that a connection existed between paper-cutting and the cutting of leather, a connection which was proved by old figures discovered by Kahle in Egyptian Shadow Plays. These, in themselves, bear the mark of Far-Eastern creation.

As a general rule a good measure of primitiveness is found in the figures used in Arabic Shadow Plays, although they showed some measure of artistic perfection in Egypt. The figures seen during the last few years were made from templets made in the beginning of the 18th century. The figures, however, which were used for hundreds of years in Egyptian Shadow Plays, were copied from more ancient samples. Figures used in other Arabic speaking countries have a lesser degree of perfection. In Tunis, for instance, they are mostly cut from dark blue leather and, lacking all limbs, do not present a pleasant appearance. But the more elaborate amongst Arab and Turkish figures, on the other hand, are transparent, beautifully coloured in shades which showed well on the screen. ¹⁷⁴

Our information on their costumes is none too abundant, although we know that the players used coloured dresses which apparently have their counterparts in those common in present-day Shadow Plays. Our knowledge of the music which used to accompany Shadow Plays is smaller still, but it is clear that the music consisted not only of songs but also of melodies performed by instruments. ¹⁷⁵

CONCLUSION

From the scanty material at our disposal, it is difficult to trace a gradual development of the type of popular amusement called "The Shadow Play". Although it is possible, that at first the Arabic Egyptian Shadow Play influenced the Turkish productions, it seems equally clear that during the Turkish domination over parts of Asia and North Africa, the Turkish Karagöz managed to imprint its mark on the Arabic Shadow Play, and especially on the Shows given for the last three generations in Palestine, Syria, Algeria and Tunis.

The Arabic and Turkish Shadow Plays have their basis in material from fictional literature, Persian Farce and the popular sections of literature of other languages, as is the case with the tales and legends of "A Thousand and One Nights". We equally find that Shadow Plays lack, largely speaking, a common basis and that

kindness and readiness to aid me. ¹⁷⁴. G. d. S., pp. 104—106. Jacob, 1913a, p. 10. Kahle, I.S.E., *Der Islam*, 1910, pp. 264—299; and 1911, pp. 143—181. Additional bibliographic material on Turkish Karagöz figures, Jacob, 1899, Introd., p. VI, n. 1. ¹⁷⁵. G. d. S., pp. 105—107.

achieve its purposes of amusing the audience by repetitions of the same humorous motive. It also attempts to tickle the senses by insinuations and questions on the relationship between men and women. Thus the play is bound to cause delight amongst a primitive audience, and it seems that this is the explanation of "The Play of the Fish" 's popularity with the Tunisians. A considerable time before the visit to Tunis by Spies and Levy, Arène saw the same play with some variations. ¹⁷¹

THE "KARAGÖZ" IN PALESTINE

Fortunately, we possess good evidence on the Shadow Play in Palestine for the more contemporary period, although it seems quite possible that it had already existed in the days of the Turkish domination. "Karakoz" still is a by-name for a small festival in colloquial Arabic in Palestine and in the Hebrew used by Jewish children in Palestine. Naturally, the majority of performances are given during the month of *Ramadan*, when troupes of Shadow Play performers from the neighbouring Arab countries come to Palestine.

The Shadow Play is dear to the Arabs of Jerusalem who, young and old, visit the Karagöz shows in the Old City, enjoying them immensely, according to the evidence of Th. F. M. ¹⁷² Mr. Gideon Weigart mentions Shadow Plays shows in the Old City of Jerusalem in *Ramadan* 1944. These were directed by a Syrian and twice a night Shadow Plays with a historical and satirical background were given, the first performance for children and the second for adults. ¹⁷³

FIGURES AND COSTUMES

The Shadow Play Theatre were bound to arouse opposition in orthodox Muslim circles, because it used images. Although laws against Shadow Plays were passed, there were people who took up the cause of this form of amusement and argued that only the making of living images was forbidden. Therefore holes were made in the chest or in the belly of the figures, even if they were quite unnecessary for their handling by the player. The Turks and Arabs had a greater number of figures than the Persians. Nevertheless, it is also certain that the art of cutting the images came to Western Europe from Persia. In the 17th century, the white paper on a coloured background, the motives and the use of figures as book ornaments show

probably incomplete—id., pp. 120—122, and transl. pp. 122—124, with figures. 171. Cf. Reich, vol. I, pp. 664—666. 172. *The Palestine Post*, 13.9.1943, p. 4. The tale recited by Meysels in his article (id., 5.1.1944, p. 4, "Karagoes and King Solomon. Topical Court Case Dramatized", is pure phantasy. 173. *The Palestine Post*, 31.8.1944, p. 4. I consider it a pleasant duty to thank Mr. Weigart for showing me his article, and for his

"THE FISHING PLAY", *Li'bet Sayd al-Hota*. Hagivaz comes to Karakoz and asks him to fish for him. Karakoz agrees. In the second act, Karakoz and a Negro pull oars, but the Negro, trying to catch fish only succeeds in driving them away. Karakoz swears at him lustily and manages to catch three fishes. In the last act, Hagivaz again appears and quarrels with Karakoz on how to sell the fish or prepare a meal from them. The play concludes with beatings. ¹⁶⁸

It seems to me that the main elements of the two last mentioned Shadow Plays have crystallised and added to themselves frills in the Shadow Play called the "PLAY OF THE FISH", *Li'bat el hota*. Kurt Levy saw this play in Tunis in 1929 shortly after the visit of Spies. ¹⁶⁹ His observations are particularly important in view of the scarcity of material available on this matter. By the last version, the theme is more one-sided and saturated with dry humour, serving as an example of popular humour in Tunis. The player, al-Hadi, came to Tunis from afar and a Moroccan accent was well discernable in his speech. He explained that the two most common Shadow Play shows were "The Play of the Bath-House" and "The Play of the Fish". The implements necessary for these two plays were simple. For the first, a house with a flat roof was needed, the right side of which was covered by an awning. The second play required a boat with a Negro sitting in the stern. He holds a steering-wheel in his hand, and in front of him stands a man holding a fishing rod in his hand. A fish dangles from the rod. A pole connected to the boat and the fish makes it possible to move both. It is obvious that all these arrangements are very primitive.

In the "Play of the Fish", a servant and his master are presented sitting in the boat. The master is angry and the Negro, who is called Mas'ud, explains that he desires a red hat and a green tarbush. Again the fish approaches the rod and Mas'ud again moves the boat. This time too, the fish gets away. The master promises his servant that he will give him a wife so that he could have children. This recurs several times and Mas'ud has a profusion of questions. He wants to know: "Why is the wife not here in the boat? Why has she no children before the marriage? Will the children come the morning after the wedding night? How do men treat their women? Would the master show him the difference between men and women? Would he, Mas'ud, also be the husband of his master's wife? At this the master's patience runs out and they leave the place without having caught any fish. ¹⁷⁰ As has been explained, the play tries to

pp. 699—700. 168. Id., pp. 698—699. 169. Levy, 1935. 170. The text—

to take his money by force and is killed. In the second act, Karakoz rises from the coffin and beats the mourners with a stick. They flee in panic and leave part of their clothes behind them on the stage.¹⁶² This last motive was also part of a Shadow Play seen in Tunis by Paul Arène in the latter half of the last century.¹⁶³ The popular belief in the rising of the dead is also mirrored in an Egyptian Shadow Play called "*Riwaya Abu Ga'far*".¹⁶⁴

"THE PLAY OF THE BATH HOUSE", *Li'bet al-Hammam*. Hagivaz plays on his flute. He calls out to Karakoz and after they have exchanged a few spicy jokes, Hagivaz proposes to Karakoz to open a Bath house and share the profits. In the next scene, Karakoz attempts to enter the Bath house while women are washing themselves, but is prevented by the wife of Hagivaz. However she lets the following characters in: an Arab, an Indian, a Maltese and finally a Jew, with Karakoz hanging onto the latter's coat-tails trying to get inside. When he does not succeed he calls in the authorities and accuses the wife of Hagivaz of turning the Bath house into a brothel. One after the other the men leave the Bath house. The Play concludes with a free-for-all between the offended Hagivaz and Karakoz.¹⁶⁵

The last play is similar to the popular Turkish Shadow Play called "*Hammam Oynu*". In the Turkish Play, Hagivaz leases a Bath house and appoints a number of servants for various duties. Karagöz too desires a job but is driven away. In the second act, various types common in Constantinople come to the Bath house. They are Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Arabs. Karagöz also appears but is driven off again, even when he tries to enter in the guise of a woman. Karagöz climbs on to the sky-light of the Bath house, makes fun of the bathers and falls through the glass into their midst, much to their consternation. Only Hagivaz saves him from the police.¹⁶⁶

"THE PLAY OF THE SHIP ON THE SEA", *Li'bet al Markib fi al-Bahr*. One after the other, Karakoz, Sheyshi and a Jew come to Hagivaz and ask to be allowed to work on his ship. In the second act, the Negro prevents Karakoz from catching the fish by his shouts. Karakoz promises him a tarbush and red shoes. Afterwards he catches the fish which they try to sell. In a third act Karakoz comes to Hagivaz and tells him that the ship has sunk. They quarrel and beat one another until they go to the governor.¹⁶⁷

162. Ibid., pp. 697—698. 163. Arène, 1884, acc. to Reich, vol. I, part II, p. 666. 164. Kern, 1905, pp. 102—103. 165. Spies, 1928, pp. 700—701. 166. Id., p. 701. This is the first among the Shadow Plays published by Kúnos, 1886. Cf. Saussey, 1936, pp. 88—89. 167. Spies, id.,

Shadow Play. As players, there appear Karagöz (also Karakon)¹⁵⁷ and Hazivaz (in Qairawan : Hagivash and also Hazivan), both well known characters in Turkish Shadow Plays.

Tunisian Shadow Plays were not printed and the players never consult even a general outline, *a fortiori* they do not even look at Shadow Plays' manuscripts. The contents of the Shadow Plays were passed on by word of mouth and had to rely on the players' ability to improvise. Thus there are many versions for one and the same play to the extent that it was impossible to see the identical play performed twice in the same manner. This peculiar characteristic has had a profound influence on the development of Shadow Plays in all parts of the East¹⁵⁸ (Littmann notes that, in Beirut, the players used to add or subtract from a play as they felt inclined¹⁵⁹). The contents of these Shadow Plays are naïve and simple. The scenes are connected only from an external point of view. The chief attraction of the Tunisian Shadow Theatre is in the merry, amusing scenes and not in the general content of a play. It should be pointed out that the Shadow Play in Tunis naturally presents its characters as Africans, who are the most popular types in the Tunisian Shadow Play Theatre. The counterpart of the Arnaut in the Tunisian Shadow Play is the Berber from Morocco, who is also wont to rattle his sabre. In addition to these types, there are also Maltese, Negroes, a dancer from the Ulad Nail tribe, etc.¹⁶⁰

The number of Tunisian Shadow Plays known to us is not great. "The Play of the Lemons" and "The Play of the Ship on the Sea" were dictated to Spies by a Tunisian, who was fifty years old, had never left Tunis and could neither read nor write; a proof that his language must have been popular. In ordinary life he was a butcher, but for the last thirty years he had performed Shadow Plays during the month of *Ramadan*. "The Play of the Bath House" and "The Play of Fishing" were dictated to him by a native of Qairawan, who was in his middle forties, a cobbler by trade, who had given Shadow Plays for the last ten years.¹⁶¹

"THE PLAY OF THE LEMONS". Karakoz knocks at the gate of the lemon grove belonging to Hagivaz. He is accompanied by the tenant of the lemon grove who comes to pay his fees. Karakoz tries

1928, p. 694. 157. Acc. to Littmann, 1901, p. 7, in the Maghrib this name is also pronounced *Karagos* and *Garagos*; the pronunciation of guttural G instead of Q is not at all exceptional in the vulgar Arabic language. 158. Spies, 1928, pp. 695—697. 159. Littmann, 1900, p. 664; in regard to Turkey, s. Jacob, 1900, pp. 44—47. 160. Jacob, *id.*, p. 36; Jacob, 1899, Introduction, p. IX; Spies, 1928, p. 697. 161. Spies, *ibid.*

puts them to shame. The Maltese, the common Christian people, are treated even more execrably in the Karagöz Plays. In their derision of the Maltese, with whom the Muslims came in daily contact, they enjoyed themselves immensely, identifying the Maltese scape-goat with all European Christians who came to Tunis. The "Madama" (an Italian word used by Tunisians to describe a European lady), who wears a broad crinoline, more often than not has a bad time of it because she arouses the curiosity of Karagöz. Even when she tries to deceive him or to play on his feelings, he shows that he does not succumb to her guiles, by failing to pay her a penny.

Whilst Shadow Plays in Tunis during the 1820's were given in Turkish, they were performed only in the Tunisian dialect when they were seen by von Maltzan. Not only could the Karagöz player raise and lower his voice, so as to suit every occasion, but he was also quite adept at imitating the manner of speech of many peoples domiciled in Tunis and trying to speak Tunisian Arabic. Among these types was a Jew, a Moroccan, a Maltese and an Arab yokel. The play is never a uniform whole, but consists of separate scenes which are unconnected. In most plays Karagöz defeats his opponents by the superior quality of his speech or by applying his fists or whip which he liberally dispenses to the other puppets. The Tunisian Shadow Play generally concludes with such scenes of fistcuffs. The humour of Karagöz is dry and quite devoid of wit. Karagöz does not lack an element of moral feelings, because he is wont to punish by force or stealth all those who try to get the better of him or who have designs on his possessions.

According to every evidence¹⁵⁴ (I would almost add : according to the lack of evidence¹⁵⁵), the level of the Shadow Play Theatre has much declined since von Maltzan visited Tunis at the end of the 1860's, and until the coming of Otto Spies. The latter, in 1927, investigated the Shadow Play Theatre in Tunis and requested that their contents be written down for him.¹⁵⁶ In his opinion, the figures appearing in Tunisian Shadow Plays are not exactly noteworthy. They were crude, primitive and made of clay ; thus they were not even transparent. In spite of this, they delight the eye and fit admirably into the

geria cf. Bernard, 1887, p. 67. 153. von Maltzan, 1870, vol. I, pp. 233—237. 154. Spies, 1928; p. 695. 155. Not only that travellers

seldom mention the Shadow Theatre, for this does not constitute yet any proof ; but it is significant that Hans Stumme, the Tunis folklorist, who published several treatises on Tunisian poetry and prose at the end of the last century, does not attach any importance to the Shadow Play and does not even mention it, according to the best of my knowledge. 156. Spies,

ment, the Shadow Theatre players in Tunis were quite willing to show their art. ¹⁴⁷

According to references to the Shadow Play Theatre contained in travel literature, that theatre was quite common in the country at the beginning and even the middle of the last century. Heinrich von Maltzan tells in 1870 of a Karagöz performancc which he saw in Tunis shortly before. According to him, these performances are popular in all the countries of Islam, especially during *Ramadan*. The climax is a Puppet Show given in the form of a Shadow Play. This is a type of amusement which was brought to Tunis during the Turkish domination ; further details of the play itself, however, are lacking ¹⁴⁸. The main character is Karagöz, a man of ugly countenance and conspicuous by his unattractive bearing, who, by his strange appearance, throws European audiences into wonderment and indignation. He bears a striking resemblance to the ancient god of gardens. The Muslims of Tunis do not see any immorality in the obscene language of the Karagöz Plays and even send their children to see them, ¹⁴⁹ as the custom was in Algeria too until the French authorities prohibited the public Shadow Plays ; ¹⁵⁰ the same attitude also reigned in Turkey. ¹⁵¹ In spite of this, Shadow Play shows were rarely attended by women, as, generally, they were barred from taking part in the amusements of their men-folk. In contrast to this, Vambéry, who spent many years in Turkey and became quite an expert in eastern affairs, tells that Karagöz Plays were willingly attended by a great number of women and girls. ¹⁵² In the majority of Karagöz Plays in Tunis, there were from 5 to 6 permanent characters. Karagöz is always one of them; he is dressed up as a Turk, and being a Turkish invention, he is always pictured as a successful man-about-town who annoys and deceives the others, relieves them of their possessions and beats them for good measure. It should be noted that almost on no occasion does a Muslim appear as a character who is being reviled and beaten by Karagöz. A Jew and sometimes a Jewess belong to the permanent stock-in-trade. They try to get the better of Karagöz, but the latter sees through their devices and

Post, 10. 10. 1944. 147. Spies, 1928, p. 694. Cf. Jacob, 1899, Introd. pp. V—VII about the proper time in which Shadow Plays were performed in Turkey. 148. Jacob, id., p. V and n. 5 to that page ; id., p. VII. Jacob, 1900, pp. 14—15. 149. von Maltzan, 1870, vol. I, p. 234. For a later period s. Spies, 1928, p. 695. Also Littmann, 1900, p. 662, wonders, thirty years later, at the great number of children aged 10—15 attending the show of a Shadow Play in Beirut. 150. Bernard, 1887, p. 67. 151. de Neuville, 1892, p. 70. Tevfik, 1905, p. 59. 152. Vambéry, 1876, p. 34. Cf. de Neuville, p. 70. About women spectators of the Shadow Theatre in Al-

on the close relationship between Italy and North Africa, but also on account of the fact that Shadow Plays were particularly numerous in Egypt. This assumption would gain further credibility if we could procure information on the existence of a Shadow Play Theatre in North-West Africa, and especially in Algeria and Tunis. In Morocco also, delightful Shadow Plays were performed — tales from "Thousand and One Nights" and animal plays — but our knowledge of these plays is rather incomplete.

Exact details on the development of the Shadow Theatre in these parts are not available. In Algeria, Pückler-Muskau depicted a *Karagöz* performance given on the 17th January 1835, which abounded in obscene language between Karagöz and the god of fertility (the connection between the mime and the god of fertility is already found in ancient Greek Mimic ¹⁴⁰). At the end of the play, the giant hero Karagöz puts to flight the French military unit which had come to arrest him, by beating the soldiers with the god of fertility who serves him as a stick. ¹⁴¹ In other Algerian plays, Satan dressed in French uniform frequently appears. ¹⁴² It seems that the French authorities forbade the performance of Shadow Plays in 1843, because of the plays' ironical treatment of the French army. ¹⁴³ Thus the Shadow Play Theatre in Algeria became extinct rather more than a hundred years ago, although some performances were given in secret. ¹⁴⁴ From all this, it becomes clear that the Algerian Karagöz appears as a vessel of the people's complaints against the oppressive authorities.

In contrast to the Syrian Karagöz, the Shadow Play in Tunis, although belonging to a Karagöz category, does not express ironical criticisms of leaders and opinions but contains a wealth of pornographical language. ¹⁴⁵ It is highly probable that these pornographical innuendos are an outward indication that the vast majority of Tunisians lived on a low cultural plane. The position of the Shadow Play Theatre in Tunis generally, and during the last generation in particular, was poor indeed. Only in the month of the *Ramadan*, when the need for amusements was felt in the evening, after a long day of fasting, were these plays performed, in contrast to Turkey and Egypt, where Shadow Play performances took their place at feasts, weddings and circumcisions. It happened not infrequently that the authorities ordered all places of amusement closed during the month of Ramadan. ¹⁴⁶ Against pay-

part I, pp. 18 s. Cf. Flögel, 1914, vol. I, pp. 26 s. 141. Pückler-Muskau 1836, vol. I, p. 135. 142. Reich, 1903, vol. I, part II, p. 641. 143. O. Spies, 1928, p. 695, relies on Piese, 1882, p. 38. S. also Jacob, 1900, p. 9. 144. Bernard, 1887, pp. 66—67; cf. R. Basset, R.T.P., 16, 1901, p. 597. 145. Flögel, 1914, vol. II, p. 10. 146. *The Palestine*

"THE OPIUM ADDICT", *Al-Afyuni*, was by no means a rare type in Turkey for many years, although lately he is much less frequent. This character was the most popular amongst the pathological types presented in the Turkish Karagöz, and through the latter's influence also in the Arabic Shadow Plays, especially in Syria and Tunis.¹³¹ Al-Afyuni tempts 'Aiwaz to a pipe of opium and hashish until both become intoxicated and fall asleep. Enters Karagöz, himself intoxicated, and begins to beat them.¹³² It should be noted that in many Turkish plays the opium addict also falls asleep on the stage. One example is the play "*Çeşme ve yahut Kütahya*" ("The Fountain or Kütahya", which is a town famous for its wells)¹³³ and "*Kayık*" ("The Boat").¹³⁴

"THE BATH HOUSE", *Al-Hammam*. 'Aiwaz and Karagöz discuss between themselves to which Bath-house they should go. In the end they decide, on the suggestion of 'Aiwaz, to go to the Bath-house which is situated underground. The owner of that Bath-house requests them to bring all the paraphernalia (water, etc.) necessary for a bath, as well as shields and swords to enable them to rout the robbers lurking in the Bath-house.¹³⁵

"THE EVENING MEAL", *Al-Sahra*. 'Aiwaz invites Karagöz to join him in a visit and to partake of an evening meal. Karagöz accepts but 'Aiwaz enters without him and subsequently calls him a thief in front of the host who orders his servant to give Karagöz a sound beating.¹³⁶

"THE TIMBER", *Al-Hashabat*. Ashqu asks 'Aiwaz and Karagöz to carry a bundle of timber for him. They sell the timber and succeed in extorting money, time and again, from Ashqu under different pretexts.¹³⁷ Littmann found a similar part in a Jerusalem story concerning Karakoz and 'Aiwaz.¹³⁸ It is interesting to the development of facts into legends to note the existence of the legend on the Sultan, his Wazir and the two players Qara-Goz and Aiwas.¹³⁹

THE SHADOW THEATRE IN NORTH AFRICA

If it be true that the Shadow Theatre moved from the East to the West and reached Italy in the 17th century, as is assumed, it seems to me that one of the possible ways it travelled was via North Africa. This assumption seems likely, not only because of the information available

pp. 24—35. 131. S. examples and bibl. Jacob, 1900, pp. 38—39.
 132. Littmann, 1901, pp. 36—43. 133. Ritter, 1941, p. 88. 134. Id.,
 pp. 254, 256. 135. Littmann, 1901, pp. 44—49. 136. Id., pp. 50—55.
 137. Id., pp. 56—63. 138. Id., pp. 64—67. For examples taken from the
 popular legend about Karagöz in the New-Aramaic dialect spoken in Tur
 'Abdin s. Prym. I, pp. 154—156, and II (transl.) pp. 223—226.
 139. Petermann, 1865, vol. I, pp. 26, 164—165. 140. Reich, 1903, vol. I,

lady reminds one of the build-up of the popular Turkish plays known as "*Orta oynu (ojuunu)*". In these plays it is quite common for the men to be thrown, one after the other, out of the home of a lady.¹²⁴ From here, in my opinion, this motive passed to the Turkish and thence to the Arabic Karagöz. In the Turkish Karagöz this motive can be found in the Turkish Shadow Play called "*İki kıyşang qary*" ("The two jealous women"; the transliteration is by the ancient system), in which several men are thrown naked into the street from the house of two women,¹²⁵ or in the Shadow Play called *Cazular* ("The Witches").¹²⁶ The following is the story of the Syrian Shadow Plays in a very condensed form.

"THE BEGGARS", *Al-Shahhadin*. Hagivad tells Karagöz, his friend, that the people of the town are angry because of his laziness. He therefore suggests to Karagöz to come and work together with him. He teaches him how to beg alms in different languages. Here is ample occasion for derision. Without noticing it, Hagivad begs alms from none other than his wife, who does not open the door and replies that she is an Armenian whose husband is in Constantinople.¹²⁷ The wives of Hagivad and Karagöz also appear in Turkish Shadow Plays, and, as in the Arabic Plays, not much love is lost between the two women and their husbands who indulge in perpetual quarrels.¹²⁸

"THE FOREIGN DOCTOR", *Afrengun*. Karagöz feels ill. 'Aiwarz advises Karagöz's wife to go to the foreign Christian doctor who has just come to the town and has announced that he would take money only from those whom he would cure completely (the type of the Christian doctor is also found in the Turkish Shadow Plays¹²⁹). Karagöz and his wife visit the doctor and a welter of misunderstandings occur between them. After returning home, Karagöz quarrels with 'Aiwarz because of his stupid advice.¹³⁰

Bekir see i.a. Jacob, 1900 pp. 23—27. 124. Cf., e.g., the Ms. farce, the contents of which have been given by Saussey, 1936, ch. 3, pp. 78—82. The thesis of Kúnos, 1908, pp. 8—9, about the connection between the *Orta Oynu* and the *Commedia dell' arte* is interesting, but has to be further investigated. Cf. also Reich, 1903, vol. I, part II, pp. 619—620. Kúnos' book is one of the most important studies about the *Orta Oynu* in Turkey. It does not, however, try to clarify the connection between *Orta Oynu* and Karagöz; but cf. pp. 98 ss., 106 sq. in his book. 125. Orig. and transl. Süsseim, 1909, pp. 744 ss. Orig. and a diff. transl. Th. Seif, 1923, esp. pp. 124—148; reviewed by Jacob, M.S.O.S., 28, part 2, 1925, pp. 282 sq. Jacob also reviews there vol. I of Ritter's "*Karagös. Türkische Schattenspiele*" (1924), reviewed also by W. Aichele, *Der Islam*, 15, 1926, pp. 153—158. 126. Orig. a transl. Ritter, 1941, pp. 128—171. 127. Littmann, 1901, pp. 16—23. 128. Jacob, 1900, p. 39. 129. e.g., id. p. 34. 130. Littmann, 1901,

There is undoubtedly a distinct connection between the Shadow Play and the popular tale, but only after more research and the discovery of new material on the Arabic Shadow Play Theatre shall we be in a position to draw definite conclusions on the matter. Shadow Plays which were given in Palestine and Syria before almost 50 years showed certain mutual traits and differed from the Turkish plays in that they frequently lacked the prologue and also the *Muhawara* as a main basis for the development of the play.

In Syria *Karagöz* Plays, related to the Turkish ones, were quite common. *Karagöz* as well as '*Aiwaz*, i.e. *Hagivad*, resemble parallel images in Turkish plays, in their behaviour and speaking parts. *Karagöz* can be found not only in the Turkish speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire, but also in the parts which were under Turkish rule, as for instance the Arabic speaking countries. These plays and their characters were also introduced to Persia by way of Azarbaigan Turkish.¹¹⁸ Another common link between Shadow Plays in Turkey and Syria is the fondness for beatings which is also found in many farces in different countries,¹¹⁹ as is also the appearance of *Hagivad* commencing with the prologue. Not infrequently the prologue and the *Muhawara* are missing in the Syrian Plays.¹²⁰ *Hagivad* and *Karagöz* are friends and both suffer from the bad temper of their wives. The most common types amongst the others are an opium addict, a pathological type with a eunuch's voice who chortles through his nose, and at his side *Ash'u* or *Ashqu*, a Turk whose duty is to preserve order and who lives in bad relations with *Hagivad* and *Karagöz*. Amongst the characters who mutilate the Arab language, the most important is the foreign doctor.¹²¹

A special similarity to the Turkish Plays lies in a part which is known to us in two versions. Its contents are very simple and deal with the adventures of *Karakoz* (*Karagöz*), '*Aiwaz* (*Hagivad*) and *Afyuni* (the opium addict) who behave in a shameful manner in the house of a certain lady.¹²²

It seems to me that the type of the *Agha*, who appears almost at the end of the play, much resembles the characters of *Tuzsuz deli Bekir*, a military man who usually enters at the end of Turkish *Karagöz* plays.¹²³ In addition to that, their "ejection" from the house of the

esp. p. V, in which he quotes Chodzko, *Théâtre Persan*. Cf. Jacob, 1900, p. 8. 119. Cf. Littmann, 1902, for blows as a comic element of the Shadow Play in Arabic and other languages. The use of blows in the ancient Classic farce has been pointed out by Reich, 1903, vol. I, part I, pp. 113—114; vol. I, part II, pp. 638—639. 120. Littmann, 1918. 121. Littmann, 1901, pp. 3—11. 122. Littmann, 1900, pp. 666—680. 123. On *Tuzsuz Deli*

appears after the prologue and tells about the miracles of Jesus, asking the *Mqaddim* to find him a plot of land on which to build a monastery. After the monastery has been built, Mnagga and his son Bulus give to the *Mqaddim* in payment a sack which contains a . . . dog. This creature bites the *Mqaddim* and also steals his *tarbush*. Thereafter Ta'adir appears and holds a long speech. The *Mqaddim* complains to him about the vileness of the priest and Ta'adir promises to pay the Christian back measure for measure. He succeeds in entering the monastery and empties a jug of wine which belongs to the priest and manages in the process to beat the latter and his son. Ta'adir does the same a second time, whereupon 'Alam, the daughter of the priest Mnagga, interferes. The young girl falls in love with Ta'adir and accompanies him to his home; but he shrinks from the sin and leaves her. Afterwards he regrets his omission and tries to reach her with the help of various disguises (the attempt to penetrate to the beloved in the disguise of a merchant is well known in the folklore of many peoples). But 'Alam succeeds in stealing from him each time his merchandise. Ta'adir sings love songs to 'Alam and asks her to marry him according to the laws of Islam. She softens and all the arguments advanced by her father the priest (in other sentences it is insinuated that he is not a Christian priest but a Jewish Rabbi) do not succeed to make her falter in the decision to marry her beloved Ta'adir. All the women of the monastery go to the bath house in order to purify themselves before the wedding of 'Alam. At this hour she goes to the house of Ta'adir and the latter shows to the *Mqaddim* with no little pride his double joy at acquiring a woman like 'Alam and at the grief he was causing to her father the priest. After the wedding, they both make a pilgrimage to Mecca and on the way all their belongings are stolen by Beduins. Having completed the pilgrimage, they return to Egypt.

KARAGÖZ IN ARABIC IN SYRIA

Syrian Shadow Plays collected by Enno Littmann during his stay in Beirut, in 1899-1900, as a member of an American Archeological mission to the country,¹¹⁶ are different in their character. According to various sources, Shadow Plays influenced by the Turks were presented in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Aleppo, Beirut and Damascus, particularly in the last two towns mentioned. Littmann saw a Shadow Play in Beirut and took with him copies of seven others which he tried to fit into several versions.¹¹⁷

did not notice that Kern had already been present at the performance of the "Cloister Play", which was then named *Li'b el-beit*, a very similar title to *Li'b el-deir*.

116. Littmann, 1901, Preface. Reviewed by René Basset, R.T.P., 16, 1901, pp. 597—598, and by H. Reich, D.L.Z., 1904, pp. 597—598.

117. Littmann, 1900, pp. 661 ss. 118. Jacob, 1899, pp. III—XVI and

still a number of other Shadow Plays, but they were not seen by Prüfer. The play begins with a musical introduction by the orchestra. Meanwhile the *Mqaddim* or the *M'allim* appears and dances with his stick to the rhythm of the music. Whilst he is dancing, Rikhim and a female dancer appear, the latter entertaining with a belly dance. The *Mqaddim* and Rikhim both want to touch her, but they get in each other's way, until Rikhim throws himself at the dancer's feet. She climbs on to his back and they both depart despite the anger of the *Mqaddim*. The latter praises Muhammad and his Companions and tries to ingratiate himself with the audience by flattering them and by liberally scolding his adversaries.

Enters a Coptic monk who praises Jesus. The *Muhawara*, dialogue, between him and the *Mqaddim* serves as the background for the play, the acts fitting themselves into it, and between the one and the other the crowd listens to a musical interlude. Similar to Ibn Daniyal's interpretation is the picture of the marriage and of the repentant sinner who decides to go on a pilgrimage.¹¹³ It should not be immediately assumed that Ibn Daniyal's influence has been unduly great, because these are common motifs from the Muslims' lives.

The *Mqaddim* is loved by the public and personifies the small bourgeois of Cairo who is easily amused but somewhat vindictive at the same time. He is a bad Muslim, fond of money, but easily deceived by the shrewd Coptic monk. The latter is presented as a bad type in contrast to the *Mqaddim*. Bulus (Paulus), the Coptic monk's son, is treated even less charitably. In spite of his tender age, he is a thief and a liar. His sister is saved from a life of theft and dissipation by Ta'adir, a drunken but kind-hearted Turk who converts the young girl to Islam. Here we see that the purpose of the play is a glorification of the Muslim at the expense of the Christian. Rikhim's appearance, reminds us of the figure of Kasperl, which is very common in the German Puppet Theatre for instance.¹¹⁴ The play is rich in life-like images of different types. The first part of the play is held in real popular language, apart from the prologue and songs which are nothing but a mixture of the two languages. The two last parts of the play, however, are nearer to a literary style, and are therefore less frequently used.

The contents which were similarly depicted by Kern and Prüfer, who published the play,¹¹⁵ are simple. The Coptic priest Mnagga

spiel". It seems very probable, that the supplementary act is the one described by Kern, 1905, pp. 101—102 as a sequel to the above mentioned Shadow Play. 113. Prüfer, id., pp. XIV—XV. 114. Id., pp. XV—XVII. 115. Kern, 1905, pp. 99—101; Prüfer, 1906, pp. 2—151. Prüfer knew Kern's article, but

that the book had not only been printed a short time before the performance of the Shadow Play (although this proof is also important), but that it had been written shortly before the play was given.¹⁰⁸

With the exception of the poetry parts, the language of the play is in a popular vein. From a literary point of view, the characters are rather indistinct, and even the captain is not quite clear-cut. Sholah is the villain type, obscene of language and greedy, but cool of mind just like other Mimes.¹⁰⁹ Generally the close relationship of the Egyptian Shadow Play of this kind to the parallel Turkish Plays is rather more pronounced than their similarity to Syrian Shadow Plays as we know them. The latter sometimes lack the conversational dialogue, the *Muhawara*, which is well-known to us in Turkish and numerous Egyptian plays. There is a particularly great similarity between "The Play of the Ship" and the Turkish *Kayik*.¹¹⁰

In *Li'b el-Markib* obscene language plays an important part. Prüfer does not accept Littmann's assertion that this kind of popular Shadow Play is older. If this were so, it would be difficult to explain the influence of these simple plays on the writing of Shadow Plays composed in the literary language which contains parts not always understood by the audience. It might be possible to understand how plays written in the literary language "degenerated" into plays saturated in parts with the crude spoken Arabic. Prüfer assumes the existence of two schools in the writing and performance of Shadow Plays. The one represented by the works of Ibn Daniyal was palatable to higher society, but in the course of generations and following the severe persecution suffered by the Shadow Play, the second popular kind became more accepted by the mass. The Shadow Play adapted itself to the new audience which it found. Plays written on an erotical basis and in suitably crude language can always be counted upon to supply first-class amusement for an audience of this kind. Thus this element was extensively used, as it was with the popular Arab song.¹¹¹

Apart from the "Play of the Ship", another play called the "Play of the Monastery", *Li'b el-Deir*, was also quite common in Cairo. Together with the *Li'b el-Deir*, an additional act called *Fasl al-Muhandis*, i.e. "The Act of the Engineer", was sometimes given. This shows how Ta'adir supervises a beautiful house for 'Alam; or *Fasl 'Aga'ib al-Bahr* is given instead, in which appears a group of sea monsters.¹¹² There is

p. 156. 109. S. the material gathered by Prüfer, id., p. 157. 110. German transl. Jacob, 1900, pp. 86—101; cf. also p. 104. Original and German transl. H. Ritter, 1941, pp. 224—269. 111. Prüfer, 1906a, pp. 156—157. Cf. about obscene talk in Shadow Plays, Kern, 1905, p. 98. 112. Prüfer, 1906, published the "Cloister Play" and named it "Ein ägyptisches Schatten-

which mean "let the wind blow !". This seems even more appropriate to a sailor's chant than to childrens' songs. As to *Helisa*, it is highly probable that this is a mutilation of *Ielisa*, in order to keep the rhythm of rowing.

After the ship has approached the shore, and it has become impossible to row, the captain waits for the passengers and sings to himself to while away the time. Immediately after he has finished, he hears a reply from the shore. This is Sholah the idler who derides the captain. The captain in his turn replies, and on the background of their dialogue the play consisting of a sequence of pictures concerning these two, develops. The captain offers to Sholah to become a sailor. The latter pretends not to understand his offer, distorting the captain's words in crude language. Eventually Sholah yields to the captain's appeal, and brings to the ship, one after the other, the following persons: a Turkish soldier, a cloth merchant, the latter's young son who gives forth evil smells, the merchant's wife who starts a pungent conversation with Sholah, a Moroccan, who speaks in his native tongue, a Sudanese, who is peremptorily thrown into the water by Sholah. At the end when the ship leaves the captain sings again, and the sailors' chant accompanies his song as a refrain.¹⁰⁶ Often the play has another *fasl* (act). It consists of the captain's conversation with the passengers. He asks them about the aim of their journey and their business. When the Moroccan tells him that he is going to Cairo, there develops between him and the captain a discussion on the merits of the capital city. Everything which in Cairo is worth seeing or deserves special praise, is mentioned in great detail: the museum, Ezbekia Gardens, the Mosque and the Pyramids, the gas lamps, the electric trams, the spring and wells, etc. After that, there follows another epilogue by Sholah.¹⁰⁷ It is easy to observe that this additional act must have been written only a short while before the play was performed because it depicts Cairo as it actually was at the time, complete with the innovations of the European technology.

Prüfer bases this assumption on the fact that the play contains — and in some places even quotes — parts of a book named '*Aga'ib Misr*' which had only just been printed. Although this book is unknown to me, I feel that this way of reasoning is not absolutely convincing, because the troupe of Shadow Players could have used — as had been their custom for hundreds of years — a manuscript also. Prüfer's argument would have been more to the point if he could have established

of the "Ship Play" have been summarized by Kern, 1905, p. 102 — who was present at the performance of the play. 107. Prüfer, 1906a. 108. Id.,

on the same sheet. Here the comments are lacking. In the dialogue between Abu al-Qitat and the sweetmeat seller, it becomes clear that Abu al-Qitat wanted to swallow some sweets, but was foiled by the seller. Scenes like these, between Abu al-Qitat and a water vendor, are found already earlier; and on the strength of the latter, Kahle, perhaps with some justification, thought that he was dealing here with isolated scenes belonging to a great cycle of popular songs. The chief speaker in this section is Abu al-Qitat, who asks for sweets. Apart from him, various street hawkers appear, shouting their wares, as is customary in the markets of Cairo. These types are: two honey vendors, two water sellers, two bean sellers, a sweetmeat vendor, a vendor of cakes, and someone who sells fruit preserved in vinegar.¹⁰⁰

Before the performance of "The Play of the Ship," *Li'b el-Markib*, a small troupe opens with soft beating on drums and the playing of flutes and *tambourines*. Thus the "festive atmosphere" is created for the performance of the play. In the Turkish Shadow Play orchestra of 40 years ago — i.e. in a period when the "Play of the Ship" was frequently performed — the following took part: a violinist, a *tambourine* player and a harp player.¹⁰¹ In Shadow Plays performed in Europe and also in Siam the orchestra was generally larger.¹⁰²

After a few minutes, a ship appears with the *ra'is*, the captain, in its front part. From the ship the muffled and monotonous singing of the sailors can be heard. They row with their oars and sing *Helisa-Ielisa*. Prüfer, who was responsible for publishing this Shadow Play,¹⁰³ and also other researchers, found difficulties in analysing this recurring chant. *Helisa-Ielisa* could be a meaningless incantation without further relevance, somewhat similar to the sailors' song mentioned in the Talmud, in Pesahim 112b, in Rab's name, which goes as follows: "*Hilni hia hula we-hilug hulia*".¹⁰⁴ The statement that this refrain is meaningless, should only be made if a meaning cannot be found; but in this case it seems quite obvious. The two words are a recurring refrain, which also concludes many children's songs in Turkey, as has been recorded by Mehmed Tevfik (Tevfik), for instance.¹⁰⁵ *Ielisa* is nothing else but a combination of the two Turkish words *Yel* and *Ise*

n. 2 in that page. 100. Kahle, 1912, pp. 92—102. The formulae used by the merchants to describe their merchandise are inserted too. 101. Süssheim, 1909, p. 740. Cf. Reich, 1903, vol. I, part II, p. 621 and the sources gathered in that page. 102. Cf. about Siam, Sonakul, 1947, pp. 210—211 and picture XX (p. 204). 103. Prüfer, 1906a. , 104. Cf. Raphael Patai, *Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1938, p. 55 and n. 46 and 47 in p. 190. I am indebted to Dr. Patai, who kindly informed me of these sources. 105. M. Tevfik, 1905, pp. 29 sqq. 106. The contents

which Zibriqash implores al-Hagg Mansur to become his teacher. Eventually al-Hagg Mansur agrees to become his teacher under certain conditions, conditions which are indeed interesting. Zibriqash agrees and when he throws his line for the second time he is swallowed by a crocodile and only his head can be seen sticking out of the reptile's jaws.

Enters Rikhim (Abu al-Qitat) and the conversation between him and Zibriqash begins. The latter complains of his predicament, and Rikhim replies that he is deeply moved by his misfortune and would gladly help him with silver or gold, but that he could not possibly fight the crocodile. Following the shouts of Rikhim, the wife and son of Zibriqash hurry to the scene, but are driven away by al-Hagg Mansur. The latter suggests to a Berber (a Nubian) to save the unfortunate Zibriqash, and from the ensuing conversation it becomes obvious that the Arab considers the Berber an ignoramus. Another two Berbers and two Moroccans appear. The Berbers do not succeed in saving Zibriqash and one of them is also swallowed by the crocodile. Only the Moroccans accomplish the deed by putting the crocodile to sleep with vaporous fumes — the Moroccans had a reputation for skill in magic — and so save the two victims from the reptile's gorge, dragging the beast on to the stage as a sign of victory.⁹⁷

Kahle discusses yet another Egyptian Shadow Play, which describes characters from the Cairo market and which was compiled, as it seems, at the beginning of the 19th century. The difference, however, between this part and that which Jacob published from Ibn Daniyal's second play is indeed great. The author of the new Shadow Play is not as successful as the author of the 13th century. Nevertheless, this part is sufficiently original, and it is interesting to note, from the point of view of cultural research, that at least one character, Abu al-Qitat, is mentioned in the two plays. This character appears, as is mentioned above, also in the "Crocodile Play" of the 19th century.⁹⁸

This part is of greater importance in that it is written in a special kind of popular Arabic,⁹⁹ and even more so because of its vocabulary in the popular language, its word-spelling and its punctuation.

The section under discussion contains the ending of one *Belliq* and yet another *Belliq* in its complete form. The *Belliq* is a popular song which usually comes at the end of a recital of lengthy verses. The *Belliq* is sung to a specific tune or rhythm which is noted down

Kahle, *Krokodilspiel*. 98. Kahle, 1912, p. 92. 99. Brockelmann describes the Arabic language of this play as "real popular Egyptian dialect" ("in echtem ägyptischen Vulgärdialekt") — Z.D.M.G., 64, 1910, p. 264 and

lately (according to Kern's own evidence) also of women — sings the prologue (in Turkish: *Perde Gazeli*) which concludes with a praise to God and to the Khedive, in an attempt to create sympathy for the players amongst the audience. Afterwards, generally by the audience's request, begins one of the many plays (*Li'b*, plural *Al'ab*; literally—plays or games, which is the same also in other languages) which are amongst the repertoire of the troupe. In most cases the audience even specifies which development they want to see in a certain stage of the play, and the members of the troupe are glad to oblige.

It seems reasonable to differentiate between two kinds of Shadow Plays: the one is cultured and refrains almost entirely from crude language. Its main exponent at the beginning of this century was Hammam. The second is a more popular vintage, indulging in crude jokes and in ditties. The exponent of this kind of play was Darwish. It may be assumed that the first kind preceded the second because it seems obvious that a play of the cultured type will by necessity turn into more popular channels before an uneducated audience. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine how popular plays could be transformed into a language more cultured and pure when they continue to be performed before an uneducated audience. Every *Li'b* is composed of several scenes (*Fasl*, plural: *Fusul*), which are organically connected and are sometimes presented on their own.⁹⁵

Kahle obtained a number of copies of the "Crocodile Play", *Li'b al-Timsah*, which is said to go back to the time of Hasan al-Qashshash. A play by this name — apparently the same play — was known to Prüfer several years before then, from hearsay alone, without his having been able to see the actual play.⁹⁶ As in various other Shadow Plays, the *Mqaddim* opens with a song. Then appears a *fallah* by the name of Zibriqash, wishes to go fishing, and the *Mqaddim* leads him to the Nile. Soon Zibriqash falls into the water irresistibly drawn by a fish which has been hooked. Only with difficulty is he saved from drowning, and the *Mqaddim* has to comfort him by promising him a teacher. The *Mqaddim* calls out and al-Hagg Mansur, an experienced fisherman, appears who operates a ferry-boat from one bank of the Nile to the other somewhere in Upper Egypt. Between him and Zibriqash, who is still depressed by his accident, a dialogue commences in

1887. Cf. my paper "The Theatre of the Arabs" (Hebrew) part 3, *Bamah*, 49, September 1946, pp. 50, 58, and the bibliography in *Bamah*, 50, January 1947, p. 115.

95. Jacob was not interested in modern Shadow Plays. The studies of Kahle have already been mentioned and will be mentioned again. See Kern, 1905, pp. 98 sqq.; Prüfer, 1906, Introduction; 1906a, Introduction; E.R.E., 4, p. 874.

96. Prüfer, 1906, Introduction, p. XII.

97. Cf.

in a kind of guild. There were five Shadow Play performers in Cairo: Darwish the son of Hasan al-Qashshash, who had learned his art from his father and was the doyen of the Shadow Players in Cairo, but did not possess a theatre of his own. He performed, when invited to parties, generally before "higher society". Muhammad 'Ali al-Qabaqibi and Gad al-Haqq performed in coffee houses or in private homes during Ramadan. Once or twice a week Shehata Hammam performed in his own special "theatre", mainly in a permanent coffee house in the Cairo fish market. Prüfer did not succeed in seeing the fifth, Sheikh Musa al-Sha'ir⁹² and erroneously thought that he had already died.⁹³ Apart from Cairo, Shadow Plays were only performed in Alexandria in the small theatre of Salim. In other towns and villages Shadow Plays were almost completely stopped by order of the Egyptian Government, who feared the spreading of a cholera epidemic by the gathering of crowds of people.

The technique of the play is similar to that which has become known to us by thorough research work carried out in different languages on the Turkish *Karagöz* Plays. Figures of transparent coloured hide 30-70 cm. long are separated from the audience by a curtain. Behind the figures there is a bright lamp, and behind that is the performer (*Mqaddim* or *M'allim*) who with the help of sticks moves the figures, which have holes in their various limbs. Only rarely can the *M'allim* himself move all the figures and he usually hires helpers — sometime his pupils — to assist him in his work. In this instance it may occur that the helpers took the speaking part of the image they operated. Apart from these helpers, the *M'allim* is assisted by three or four musicians; two with *tambourines*, the third with an oboe and the fourth with a drum.

The *Effendi*, who has tasted of European culture, thinks that he can do without the pleasure of seeing Shadow Plays, the value of which has been lessened; furthermore he is loathe to visit the places of amusement where *Khayal el-Zill* is performed. Thus the vast majority of Shadow Theatre patrons are the poorest of the poor, and especially adolescents. Only during *Ramadan* and in summer on festive occasions, do members of the middle and even higher classes attend performances. The audience, which is conspicuous for its lack of culture and does not forget that it is in a coffee-house is inclined to interrupt and hamper the play, until the *M'allim* is sometimes obliged to silence the noise and chatter with shouts and even with his stick.⁹⁴ After a sufficient number of people have assembled, a choir composed of men and boys—

1906, Introduction, pp. V—VII.

93. Kahle ascertained this fact some years afterwards.

94. Prüfer, 1906, Introduction, p. VIII; s. also Brugsch,

the Arab market and formulae of soliciting customers used in more ancient plays. This example, given by Kahle as being without great significance,⁸⁴ seems to me typical of the way in which new Shadow Plays were written by a compilation of parts from already existing plays. From the death of Daud al-Manawi and until the appearance of al-Qashshash the Shadow Theatre was never quite absent from Egypt, but it seems possible that the majority of these plays were of the Turkish *Karagöz* type which were imitated by the Arabs and even presented by them in Turkish. This is so according to Lane's evidence of the second and third decade of the last century.⁸⁵ I am not quite certain whether the *Karagöz* Play, seen by Didier in Cairo in 1859 was presented in Turkish or Arabic, but I am rather inclined to think that it was given in the former.⁸⁶ The missionary Haussmann in the 1860's also saw quite a number of plays in Cairo, but all these were given in the Turkish language.⁸⁷

EGYPTIAN EXAMPLES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Shadow Plays in Egypt, which were known through Kahle, were still performed there in the years before the first World War, but somewhat differently.⁸⁸ Apart from him, two people became interested in the Arabic Shadow Plays during the end of the last, and beginning of this, century. The first is Friedrich Kern, who knew the Egyptian Shadow Play Theatre from first hand and was the first, so to speak, who re-discovered this Shadow Play Theatre. Several scholars of the East followed in his footsteps.⁸⁹ The second was Curt Pruefer, whose interest in the matter was aroused by Jacob.⁹⁰ Pruefer lived in Egypt and became later the head of Secret Intelligence of the Turko-German armies in Syria and Palestine.⁹¹ The evidence supplied by these three men conveys a clear picture of Shadow Plays performed in Egypt 40—50 years ago. Syria and Tunis will be dealt with later.

In Cairo, at the time, there existed only one Shadow Play Theatre. In 1903 a second one was added, in the neighbourhood of the first. Neither survived for long and in the summer of 1909 there was only one theatre left, which in its turn was also closed by order of the police, possibly as a measure to prevent the spreading of infectious diseases prevalent in that season.

As with similar arts, the Shadow Play performers were organised

182—183. 84. *Der Islam*, 2, pp. 182—184. 85. Lane, 1836, 2, ch. 7, p. 116. 86. Didier, 1860, p. 353: "...et à côté la lanterne magique, Karagueuz, ravissait la foule par de fabuleuses obscénités...". 87. Müller, 1909, pp. 341—342. Cf. Kahle, I.S.E., *Der Islam*, 2, p. 188. 88. Cf. the evidence in Prüfer, E.R.E., 4, p. 874. 89. Müller, 1909, p. 342. 90. Prüfer, 1906, Introduction, p. XX. 91. Storrs, 1945, p. 122. 92. Prüfer,

Shadow Play of al-Qashshash; this can easily be determined by the general character of the Shadow Play, by our knowledge of it, and also by discrepancies in the text, which are only partly explained by other manuscripts. Nevertheless, we may assume that al-Qashshash, belonging to the Menzela school, still had the opportunity to see fragments of the ancient Shadow Theatre in that place, and inspired by them he compiled his material and resuscitated the Shadow Theatre in Egypt.⁷⁹ It is difficult to assume external influences on the works of Hasan al-Qashshash, because his son's (Darwish al-Qashshash) evidence, that his father came from Algeria at the age of twenty (or from Morocco in the year 1862), is rather doubtful. Even Kahle, who first supplied this fact from Darwish al-Qashshash withdrew his statement eventually.⁸⁰ It becomes clear from other sources that the same Hasan al-Qashshash was a house agent, was born in Egypt and lived there all his life (d. about 1905 A.D.).⁸¹ From this it is difficult to conceive, at least from outward evidence, that his work could have been subjected to foreign influence. Hasan al-Qashshash included in his Shadow Plays a number of new devices and placed into our hands information, however scanty, on the matter of new figures which he ordered to be prepared; in addition to this, some information on modern figures introduced into Shadow Play Theatres during his lifetime entitle us to assume that, even if he was not the only one responsible for these developments, the part contributed by him was considerable.⁸² These new figures vary appreciably from the old, and it is possible that al-Qashshash used them (or created them), because he saw during his student days in Menzela, that the audience was unable to grasp the symbols which the old figures tried to convey. He took his new figures, which were very similar to those used in Turkey, from Syria. This becomes clear from the similarity in the outward appearance of these figures and from the attempt to imitate them in colours. All these are completely different from the ancient figures of Egyptian Shadow Plays.⁸³

Together with the above mentioned figures, a number of manuscripts with unsorted pages were found. They were copies of quite well-known Shadow Plays which had in addition a greater number of songs. In the hands of one of the Shadow Players, a few manuscripts which he had written himself were also found. He copied scenes from

79. Kahle, 1913, pp. 104—105. Cf. the review of Horovitz, O.L.Z., 13, 1910, fasc. 3, p. 130, and fasc. 6, p. 279, on Kahle, 1909.

80. Kahle, 1913, p. 105.

81. Id., pp. 105—106. 82. Cf. the sources id., p. 106 and n. 1—3 in the same page.

83. Id., p. 106. Cf. on the ancient figures Kahle, I.S.E., *Der Islam*, 1, pp. 264—299, and 2, pp. 143—181. S. particularly vol. 2, pp.

had to write that which he heard.⁷⁵ This characteristic example is found in the Menzela manuscript which came into the hands of Hasan al-Qashshash and contained the following heading: "This is the Diwan of Shadow Plays from the song of Sheikh Sa'ud and of Sheikh 'Ali al-Nahla and from the song of the leader of Players, *al-ahraf*, and the director Daud the spice seller".⁷⁶ Daud al-Manawi or al-Manati himself, as is evident from the heading of the play, compiled this collection from songs written by himself and from those of two of his predecessors — possibly his teachers — whom he does not fail to praise in his songs. And thus the players are presented with material ready to be performed.⁷⁷ This Daud became a legendary figure soon after his death, and tales were spun in the streets of Cairo on his delightful shows, pleasant songs, and tragic death.⁷⁸ Each song in the play has a prologue, *Matla'*, and continues with regular song verses, *Dor*. The *Matla'* contains a praise to the prophet, *Dor al-madih*, and the *Dor* contains a reference to the author's name, *Dor al-istishhad*. Although the manuscript which has come down to us is in some way incomplete and written on loose sheets, we are in a position to ascertain the author of each song which has come into our hands in complete form. To the words of the song, *Zagal*, there is generally added a sung refrain *Belliq*, which introduces into the matter the *Zagal* which follows it. In this manuscript there are many parallel scenes, written by different authors, which enable the player to choose a version most suited to the occasion. A comparison of the scenes is illuminating indeed, because it proves the existence of various traditions, by which the writers were bound; they could thus add on their own only minor details.

According to the manuscript under review, there was a long tradition of Shadow Plays. As the manuscript was written in 1119 A.H. (1706—1707 A.D.), it must be assumed that Daud al-Manawi belonged to the 17th century. The fact that popular types like Abu al-Qitat and Qatatu' appear also in his work, as they do in Ibn Daniyal's as well as in our own days, is a sign that Shadow Plays made use of common material, and it seems possible that there existed traditions which were passed on from one Shadow Theatre player to the next. All these traditions were collected by Hasan al-Qashshash and served for the revival of the Shadow Theatre planned by him. The manuscript of al-Manawi did not enter in its complete form into the

75. Kahle, 1913, pp. 103—104. 76. Daud really asserted of himself that he was a spice dealer. 77. Id. Cf. Kahle, *Krokodilspiel* (1915), pp. 185—187. 78. Cf. Kahle, I.S.E., *Der Islam* 2, pp. 185—7.

Also in our days we may see of an evening in Cairo, Alexandria, Port-Said, and other Delta towns, Shadow Plays whose connections with the ancient plays is difficult to determine. On a simple stage erected outside a café, or in a private home on the occasion of a wedding, a piece of white linen is hung up and a lamp is put behind, with sticks or date branches put against the linen, so that shadow-like silhouettes are produced. These figures have limbs which move, and even the lower part of the form is moveable by manipulation. The text of the "play" is recited and sung alternately. It was attempted to colour these figures, whose height approximated half a meter, in contrasting shades, a device used to give the appearance of a larger Shadow Theatre stage, a trick well known to us from Syria and Turkey. Some of the modern Shadow Plays are too long. *'Alam w-Ta'adir*, for instance, contains sufficient material to have it presented as a continuous show for twenty-eight nights.

The modern Shadow Theatre was introduced to Cairo by Hasan al-Qashshash, who became acquainted with this type of performance in the town of Menzela. He studied the former, procured a Shadow Play manuscript written about two hundred years ago, and thus laid the foundation for the revival of the Shadow Theatre. He presented the play in Cairo, where this kind of show had not been known for a long time. He collaborated with Musa al-Dera', about whom Prüfer had heard and whom Kahle had met personally.⁷³ Subsequently Hasan al-Qashshash and Musa al-Dera' separated, and each one set up a troupe of his own. Al-Qashshash brought with him from Damascus prototypes of figures which were afterwards copied by others in Cairo.⁷⁴

The Shadow Play is not the work of *one dramatist alone*; and the various manuscripts do not contain the complete text of a uniform play. The players, who gave their own interpretation to the show, knew the spirit of the people well, and often introduced special popular attractions. In the same manner the player was influenced by his teachers. The novice player was accustomed to stay for some time with experienced players of the Shadow Theatre, who taught and developed his dramatic qualities. As custom demanded that the greater part of Shadow Plays be presented in verse (sung or recited), only few players of the Shadow Theatre wrote the material for the plays themselves. The majority of players were compelled to use the verse of others, more talented and famous. Thus the novice player not only had to learn from his teacher how to perfect a certain scene, but also

pp. 93—95. 73. Prüfer, 1906, Introduction, p. VII; Kahle, I.S.E., *Der Islam*, 2, 1911, pp. 185—186. 74. Kahle, id., pp. 186, 168—189.

DAUD AL-MANAWI AND HASAN AL-QASHHASH

In the 19th century, and even more in the 20th, the information on the Shadow Theatre becomes more plentiful. The Shadow Theatre is mentioned time and again in descriptions of journeys to the East. But as a rule the value of this information is not great. More important for our purposes is the fact that various scholars have seen texts containing Shadow Plays and to some degree even published them. Amongst these Shadow Plays there is a certain number, which throw some light on the Shadow Theatre in Arabic.

Although in the Shadow Plays of Ibn Daniyal verse and versified prose alternate, it is a fact that the majority of Shadow Plays written in Arabic during the 19th century is still composed in verse.⁷¹

According to Islamic conception, the influence of man on his fate is minute. Allah is the one who arranges all without having any responsibility towards anybody. The Shadow Play expresses this view of life, in that the leader pulls all the strings and his creatures do not possess a will of their own. This tragedy of life also finds expression in the Shadow Play itself. Mostly the contents centre around sin which draws after itself punishment or retribution. In the Turkish Shadow Plays the motif of sin is mostly carnal whereas in the Arabic ones it is religious. The Muslim turns easily into an unbeliever by infringing the laws of his religion; but if he returns repentant, his trespass will be forgiven; nevertheless the whole accumulated treasure of his good deeds is lost to him. Thus the Muslim usually atones for his crime, making a pilgrimage to Mecca. This obligation is carried out by him in his declining years, when repentance is most necessary. This is the essential, deep basis of the various Arabic Shadow Plays. For this reason, Shadow Plays like *Amir Wisal* and the modern *Li'b el-Deir* conclude with a pilgrimage to Mecca, and *al-Mutayyam* with, at least, a verbal repentance, as is required of every Muslim (the "*shahada*"). Admittedly there are erotical elements in many Shadow Plays, but there is in them, even alongside these elements, a moral background. This will be found in *Li'b el-Deir* and also in the Persian Shadow Play, the contents of which were revealed to us by Ouseley four generations ago.⁷²

not. Cf., Jacob, 1898, pp. 695—703. It would be very desirable to investigate the way in which the Jewish type appears in the theatre of the Muslim peoples and that of the Arabs most particularly. Cf. on the Turkish Shadow Theatre: Jacob, 1900, 1901; Kúnos, 1908; Littmann, 1918; Saussey, 1936. 71. About more ancient Shadow Plays, which were found in the possession of Usta Darwish, an actor in a Shadow Play theatre in Cairo, cf. Prüfer, 1906, Introduction, p. XI. 72. Ouseley, 1823, pp. 404—405. S. also G.d.S.,

the rôles of different tradesmen.⁶⁷ It would seem that this kind of Shadow Play is intended for children.⁶⁸ The Karagöz plays are less common with the Arabs, and even then would seem influenced by the Turks. In contrast to the Egyptian plays, there exist in the Turkish Shadow Plays recurring types revealing a solidification of folk-lore traditions, centering around certain characters. The dominating difference between Hagivad or Hagi Aivad on the one hand, and Karagöz on the other, is one of the most humorous elements in the Karagöz plays. Hagivad is more cultivated and tries to be a man of few words when expressing himself. Most of the other characters in the Shadow Play take Hagivad's words at their face value. In contrast to him, Karagöz is an unpolished type, the bald fool (like other clowns) who follows his whims without listening to advice, and falls from one adventure into the next, in his quest for work or in chasing other people's wives. His language is simple in the extreme, and the misunderstandings in language between him and Hagivad are always amusing. In addition to several other types, characters who parody the dress and manners of certain peoples and their attempts to talk in dignified Turkish, are common: Persians,⁶⁹ Arabs and Jews,⁷⁰ Franks (Christians and strangers) who change places with Greeks, Armenians, and Arnauts, Turkish yokels, uncultured and hard-working. To the pathological characters belong: the stutterer, the opium-addict, the hashish-addict, the drunkard, and the madman.

There are four kinds of Karagöz plays in Turkey:

- a) Karagöz looks for a profession under the guidance of Hagivad and shows his lack of ability — plays such as these are also found in Arabic.
- b) Karagöz tries to do forbidden things out of curiosity or lust; he is thus caught by Deli Bekir, from whom only Hagivad can save him.
- c) Karagöz manages to get into trouble and finds himself in an unpleasant situation.
- d) Plays borrowed from the popular legend.

pp. 30—33. 67. G. d. S., pp. 95—96. 68. J. Scherr, 1861, p. 57, also mentions the unchanging types of the Shadow Plays in Turkey, Hagivad, Karagöz and others. Cf. Jacob, 1906, p. 25. It may be interesting to remark that Scherr hints at a possible relation between the Shadow Play figures in China and Turkey. 69. The mockery at the strangers' way of talking is among the characteristics of the Shadow Play, and this includes the Turkish and Arabic Karagöz as well. Cf. A' Vambéry. 1876, pp. 34—35 and Th. Gautier, 1894, ch. 14 for examples of mockery at the pronunciation and appearance of the Persians in the Shadow Play. 70. The Shadow Play often imitates the way of speech of the Jews, in an unkind spirit more often than

- 2) The information concerning Selim's I order to take players of the Shadow Play Theatre to Constantinople.
- 3) The outstanding types in Ibn Daniyal's plays, (and perhaps also other Shadow Plays of which no records have been found as yet) have been copied — including their Egyptian names — in the *Karagöz* plays.
- 4) The name *Karagöz* under which the Turkish Plays are known, after the name of the principal player, is derived from the Egyptian Wazir Qaraqush. As far as is known, this Wazir lived in the days of Salah al-Din, and was much appreciated by this great warrior. Hostile essays, saturated with irony, describe him as a man who looked and acted like a perfect fool. In the course of the years, various folk-tales concerning themselves at first with entirely different persons, have enhanced the humorous qualities of Qaraqush.⁶⁴

Thus we have until this very day a Qaraqush-inspired type which, in its essence is a constant source of irony. This is the personification of stupidity, innate foolishness and lack of manners, though not devoid of courage.⁶⁵ Ibn Daniyal, who lived about a hundred years after Qaraqush is as yet unaware of the "Foolish Jester-type" which the Wazir personifies.

Nevertheless, this type is as common as it is appreciated in Turkey. It should be remembered that the Turks still found in Constantinople a type whose origin was a Greek mime, and who bore a striking resemblance to *Karagöz*. Even nearer to the Mime Plays is a certain variety of Turkish plays, called *Orta Oynu*.⁶⁶

The sequence of a Turkish Shadow Play is generally as follows: Hagivad and *Karagöz* meet one another and decide to obtain money by following various trades and professions. *Karagöz* displays himself, at first, as a person not favoured by success until his stupidity leads him, in stages, to a deed, great and heroic. As customers there is a galaxy of types taken from the different peoples living at Constantinople; Greek, Armenian, Jew etc. Everybody expresses himself in a parodied jargon of Turkish. Eventually the police appear on the scene, and following Hagivad's request they release *Karagöz* on his promise to act even more hilariously the following night. Naturally, *Karagöz* may appear in

64. Cf. about Ibn Mammati's book against Qaraqush, Brockelmann, G.A.L., Leipzig, 1909, p. 160, and more detailed information in his G.A.L., vol. I, Weimar, 1898, p. 335, and the first Supplementband, Leiden, 1937, pp. 572—573; Brockelmann also gives bibliographic information. Cf. Horovitz, 1905, pp. 12 & 29—31. The historic personality of Qaraqush has been investigated by Lane-Poole, 1926, pp. 108, 110, 152, 153, 244, 295, 297, 363.
65. S. also Jacob, 1899, Introduction, pp. VII sqq. 66. Horovitz, 1905,

pearance of the Egyptian and Turkish Shadow Plays denotes from the outset that there were no permanent types in the former. It remains Prüfer's merit to have proved that in the Egyptian plays there is only one common type, the conférencier or Master of Ceremonies, the "*M'ad-dim*" (literary: *Muqaddim*) who plays the same role as *Hagivad* in the Turkish Shadow Plays. It is possible too, to include a second character type, *al Rikhim*" whose importance is, however, only secondary.⁵⁹

Prüfer tries to interpret⁵⁹ "*Rikhim*" = "*Wikhim*" i.e. "dirty", but it is known that this name appears quite distinctly as *Rikhim* in various places. It seems to me that this name should be interpreted ironically because "*Rikhim*" is "delicate" (in its appearance) or tender (in its sound).⁶⁰ All the prints of "*Rikhim*" which exist show him in particular to be a grotesque figure whose belly and back-side bulge abnormally, in a manner reminding us exactly of the Hellenic mime. Let him be called so, and according to this interpretation his name is in ironic contrast to his appearance, which is not pleasant by any means, and — like *Taif al-Khayal* in Ibn Daniyal's play—he is not at all like "*Kamil al-I'tidal*", "proportionately perfect", but the exact opposite of that.

Similarly, the name *Karagöz* is not even mentioned once in all the vast literature written on Shadow Plays in Egypt.⁶¹ In this matter I think that Horovitz is mistaken in attributing to *Karagöz* a wide influence on Arabic Shadow Plays throughout the last generations.⁶² We should not accept this assertion concerning Egypt, which was and still remains the centre of the Arabic Shadow Play. Although only little is known about the Persian Shadow Play *Sheb Baz*, it is nevertheless clear that the relation of the Fool, *Kechel Pehlevan*, towards *Karagöz*, is the same as that of the Persian towards the Turk. The historical Shadow Play which, as mentioned above, was brought to Constantinople in the time of Selim I, did not strike roots there, but remained special to the Egyptian Shadow Theatre.⁶³

In spite of this, it is evident from existing material that the Shadow Theatre in Turkey and Egypt exerted a mutual influence upon each other. The case for the influence of the Egyptian Shadow Theatre upon that of the Turkish can be summed up as follows :

- 1) We hear of the existence of the Shadow Play in Egypt before hearing about it in Turkey.

figure in the Shadow Play publ. by Prüfer, 1906, p. 86, to the way he appears in *Harb al-'Agam*, which describes a surprise attack of the Christians on Alexandria, as mentioned by Kahle, *Krokodilspiel*, (1915), p. 293. Cf. Kern, 1905, pp. 101, 102. 59. Prüfer, 1906, p. 86. 60. Cf. s. v. "*Rikhim*" in *Lisan al-'Arab*; Barthelémy, 1935, and other dictionaries. 61. G. d. S., pp. 80—81. 62. Horovitz, 1905, pp. 31—32. 63. G. d. S., pp. 81—82.

copied by others. In the 15th century, Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Ibshihi quotes in the "Kitab al-Mustatraf fi kull fann mustazraf" three poems by an unknown author, concerning Shadow Plays.⁵² According to Ibn Higge, al-Qadi al-Fadil expressed similar views to Salah al-Din.⁵³ In the following centuries Shadow Plays are more frequently mentioned, especially in Egypt. Ibn Iyas, for instance, mentions Shadow Play Theatres on four occasions in his Chronicle of Egypt.⁵⁴ More important still are the records of Ibn Iyas on the life of Sultan Selim I, conqueror of Egypt, who was so fond of Egyptian Shadow Plays, that he told the producer of Shadow Plays: "When we go to Istanbul you will come with us so that my son too can see it (the Shadow Play)".⁵⁵

SHADOW PLAYS IN EGYPT AND TURKEY.

According to this source, which describes the beginning of the 16th century A.D. and six years before the death of Ibn Iyas, it appears that the Sultan took with him a troupe of players to Turkey. Thus it is possible that the Turks learned about the Shadow Plays from the Egyptians or, at least, improved them. It seems likely that amongst the six hundred Egyptians who were sent back to their country by the Sultan three years after ascending the throne, were also these players.⁵⁶ It is difficult to assess the degree of mutual influence between the Egyptian Arabs and the Turks in the matter of Shadow Plays. In the 14th century Shadow Plays are mentioned in Tabriz, a province noted as meeting ground for Persian and Turkish culture. But even this evidence and that about Sheikh Kūshteri from Persia, to whom the invention of Shadows Plays is attributed by various sources,⁵⁷ do not carry convincing proof that the Turks possessed a developed Shadow Play Theatre, before it was introduced from Egypt. The internal evidence of the Shadow-Plays themselves is however more important. The outer ap-

H. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1854—2860, poem 255, verse 5, and poem 360, verse 6. 52. *Al-mustatraf*, ed. Cairo, 1306 A.H., vol. II, p. 260; cf. Cairo, 1354 A.H. (1935 A.D.), vol. II, pp. 291—292. S. also Seybold, 1902, pp. 413—414; Seybold adds another parallel. See G. d. S., p. 77. 53. Jacob 1901a pp. 76—77. Cf. G. d. S., p. 77 and Seybold, pp. 413—414. 54. G. d. S., 77—78. Cf. also about the ancient Shadow Plays, Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Kharagi, (d. 1069 A.H.=1659 A.D.), *Shifa al-galil* — acc. to Jacob, 1901a, pp. 78—79; perhaps also Yusuf Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Gawad al-Sharbini (d. end of 17. cent.), *Hazz al-quhuf*, ed. Bulaq, 1274 A.H. Cf. Prüfer, E.R.E., 4, p. 874, n. 4; on al-Sharbini's book cf. Brockelmann, G.A.L., II, 278; app. to vol. II, Leiden, 1938, p. 387. 55. Ibn Iyas, *Ta'rikh Misr*, ed. Bulaq, 1312 A.H., part 3, p. 125, also mentioned by Jacob, 1901a, p. 78: *قال له اذا سافرنا الي سلطانول فامض معنا حتى يتفرج ابني على ذالك*. 56. S. also G. d. S., pp. 78—79. 57. Id., pp. 79—80. 58. Cf. *al-Rikhim's*

oration full of humour, on the history of war, its vicissitudes and advantages. The bull of al-Mutayyam is defeated, whereupon its owner mourns its passing and gives instructions to butchers and skimmers to take over. After slaughtering and cooking the bull, dishes are prepared from its meat, and dinner is begun, but not before the hall has been filled with pleasant odours. ⁴⁸

The next part has no connection with the preceding one. The opponent of al-Mutayyam does not appear at all, but various people assemble for the feast, who personify by their names, behaviour and gestures different sins, or certain pathological types. They fall intoxicated one after the other. Among them a man with carnal lust ; another one, fat and fond of song and wine ; the opposite of the last mentioned, a youth pale and haggard who only sleeps outdoors, and shuns the pleasures of drink ; a person of responsibility who tries to smooth quarrels by his mediation ; a sick man ; a man inclined to masturbation ; another who snatches little children from their beds, and satisfies his ghoulish lust on their tender bodies.

It might be worth while to describe particularly the last two guests; the first is Tufaili, doing full justice to his name, a parasite who never fails to appear at parties and meals to which he was not invited. He is a personification of a popular character of which many versions had been created among the Arabs even before this period. Lastly comes the Angel of Death who brags that he puts an end to everything. Al-Mutayyam asks permission to repent, and the Angel of Death agrees. Thereupon he repents his sins and asks forgiveness from God. He expires and his guests, aroused from their drunken sleep, scatter in panic, frightened at the stern punishment they have witnessed. Al-Mutayyam's body is washed and taken for burial. ⁴⁹

We have given particular attention to Ibn Daniyal's three plays, not only because they represent the only dramaturgical creation by the Arabs in the Middle Ages, of which there is any record, but also because their popular representations enable us to catch a glimpse of Egyptian culture in the 13th century. For hundreds of years after Ibn Daniyal, Shadow Plays were presented ; but these are merely mentioned in various sources ; no further records of their nature exist.

In the 14th century again Shadow Plays are mentioned, especially in Persia, without, however, any clear details being supplied ; Muhammad 'Assar (d. 1382 A.D.) in his epic "Mehr w-Mushteri" ⁵⁰ and Hafiz (d. 1389 A.D.) ⁵¹ whose allusions to Shadow Plays were

pp. 6—8. 48. Id., *passim*. Cf. G. d. S., pp. 54—70. 49. Jacob, 1901d, particularly pp. 26—31. Cf. G. d. S., pp. 70—75. 50. According to a Ms. of this Epos, in Berlin — cf. G. d. S., p. 76. 51. Hafiz, *Diwan*, ed.

make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Gharib brings the performance to a close with a short epilogue.⁴⁵

Each actor characterizes his rôle by specific declamations and gestures most suited to him. Only a few of the names of these types are incomprehensible to us; they are part of the actor's secret language (possibly connected to gipsy-idiom).⁴⁶ The vast majority of names are perfectly clear and excite laughter, because of their suitability or ironical contrast to their rôles. Ibn Daniyal particularly excels in "Agib and Gharib" by his knowledge of different doctors, his colleagues, and also by his deep insight into the traits and characters of other people.

The third play is called "*al-Mutayyam*" (The Love-Stricken), and opens with an explanation on the kind of greeting to be used when one is invited to a distinguished and august gathering. Then come love songs alluding to the grief caused to man by anxiety. Al-Mutayyam was slaughtered without a knife. After the speaker has welcomed the audience which has come to see the play, he explains how he lost his heart. A dwarf appears who asks strange and humorous questions, especially on various foods,⁴⁷ and upon these words al-Mutayyam "blesses" him generously. Again love becomes the main theme and an adventurous love story is recounted and erotical songs are sung.

The beloved woman's influential servant, al-Baba Bairam (which is also the name of the Armenian servant in Turkish Shadow Plays), tells of his success in convincingly describing al-Mutayyam to the husband of the beloved, as one who is trustworthy, high-born and well versed in hunting. Al-Mutayyam dances and sings for joy. A cock-fight is decided upon and the umpire collects deposits from both cock-owners. He praises Allah for bestowing on cocks the ability to announce the shifts of day and night. He then proceeds to give the rules for cock fights.

Eventually they decide to hold a ram-fight, and the umpire is called in again. Both al-Mutayyam and his opponent sing a song of praise to their respective rams, with the difference that the former's song is a parody on the latter's. The opponent's mother offers a prayer for the victory and welfare of her son's ram. After an additional speech by the umpire, the ram fight begins, and the ram of al-Mutayyam is victorious. But even then the struggle is not concluded, because al-Mutayyam and his opponent begin to praise their bulls and promptly proceed to hold a bull-fight. Again the umpire delivers a philosophical

manners. 45. Id., pp. 41—42. G. d. S., pp. 51—54. Cf. the description of the market in Damascus by Wetzstein, 1857, pp. 475—525 and the *corrigenda*, p. 744. 46. Kahle, 1926, examined the vocabulary of the people who wrote Shadow Plays or played them in Egypt. 47. Jacob, 1901 d,

and who hints that he is able to cure even blindness, (though it occasionally occurs that he causes the affliction). e) & f) An acrobat who twists and bends his body and then steps with his feet on pointed swords ; together with his "Mu'allim". g) & h) A conjurer with his assistant, who display their skill in changing the nature of objects, take gold-coins out of their mouth or produce an amazing chain out of separate links. i) An astrologer who proclaims his ability to elucidate mysteries. k) A sorcerer trading in amulets, who praises the healing and apotropaic power of his charms. Suddenly there appears l) an epileptic boy, whereon the sorcerer heals him, takes hold of his "evil spirit" — whether it be a Jewish or a Christian one — and forces him into a box full of eye ointment which he buries. m) A phlebotomist with all her instruments. ⁴¹ It is, however, quite certain that she really represents a gypsy-dancer and woman tatooer, a common type in Cairo during the last generation. ⁴²

Now appears a long procession of animal-tamers, who present their animals one after the other, or let them act small-scale wonders or clownish tricks. They are: the lion-tamer, the elephant-tamer, the wonder-man who shows us the litheness of his goats ; Abu al-Qitat, a popular figure, who tries to reconcile cats and mice ; the dog tamer who makes his dogs dance ; the bear-tamer ; Natu, the Sudanese, sings a somewhat unintelligible ditty — perhaps intended to show the buffoonery of the Sudanese ; a man who swallows bayonet-points and other similar articles, but who suggests to the audience that he would rather swallow any present from it than those sharp weapons ; the monkey-owner, who exhibits the cleverness and litheness of his monkeys ; ⁴³ the rope dancer, who, attached to the rope by one toe only, remains suspended in mid-air, whilst he catches coins thrown at him by the audience. The name of this dancer, "Withab" meaning "jump" should, I think, read "Waththab", "jumper", in the Ms.

The last types to appear are a man covered with self-inflicted wounds due to this inability to console himself after having been deeply smitten by love ; a carrier of burning coal, who sings a *Qasida* directed to Christians as well as to Jews. ⁴⁴ The very last is the camel driver, who prays to God that he, and his fellow-believers, may be able to

man by Jacob, 1913, pp. 67—71. 41. Jacob, 1910, pp. 12—26. 42. See Kahle's review on Jacob, 1910, O.L.Z., 15, 1912, esp. pp. 325—328. 43. For some of the forms in which the *Qarrad* — the monkey driver — appears, cf. E. Graefe, G. Jacob, P. Kahle, and E. Littmann (Der Islam, 5, 1914, pp. 93—106). 44. Jacob, 1910, pp. 24—41. It is not impossible that Ibn Daniyal may have been of non-Muslim stock, considering his name and his interest in Jews and Christians and his acquaintance with their beliefs and

of the market serves as a source of information on Arab civilization in those days. The large variety of types makes it appear unlikely that Ibn Daniyal created them all. Without doubt he used some which already existed. The play opens in verse with directions for the performance, in order to capture the attention of the audience. It is interesting to note that directions and hints for the producer and actors are scattered throughout the play itself.³⁷

Gharib, one of the "*Ghuraba*", the shrewd travellers, enters; he personifies the class of the Sons of Sasan.³⁸ The sons of Sasan allegedly took their name from Sasan, the son of the legendary Persian King Bahman, who was wont to roam in great poverty. The Sons of Sasan were, as a matter of fact, mostly restless people, of a type which could not settle down to live in any one place.³⁹ Gharib bewails the good old days which are no more. With deep sorrow he recalls the times he used to listen to music and drink wine, and implores Allah to return every foreigner to his native land. Gharib describes the unhappy lot of those travellers to foreign markets, and tells of all the arts and tricks he and his kin were forced to use in order to be able to make a living — and he relates a number of amusing instances. Thus he learned various cunning enterprises and several sciences: theology and law, literature and poetry; philosophy helped him immensely to spread fairy tales and lies. In the same way as Hagivad in the Turkish Shadow Play is complementary to Karagöz, so is 'Agib here to the figure of Gharib. 'Agib al-Din al-Wa'iz, i.e. "the preacher of the wonderful religion", praises Allah for having created wine; and in his eloquent speech, bitingly ironical, he calls on all the beggars to increase their begging and particularly to obtain ready cash.⁴⁰

Others to appear are various popular types from everyday life — mainly tradesmen who display their exotic wares (quite a beloved theme in market scenes all over the world) — and the behaviour and expression of every one of them is described briefly, but in their main characteristics: a) A snake-charmer, an expert for remedies against snake-bites. b) A physician for all sorts of curious ailments who himself concocts his medicines from precious drugs, and asks in payment only a date or a cucumber. c) A hawker of medicinal herbs who speaks in glowing terms, in verse and in prose, of his herbs, each one for a specific illness. d) An ophthalmic surgeon who praises his own skill.

Horovitz, 1906, p. 703. 37. Cf. Jacob, 1910, pp. 3—6. 38. Id., p. 5; cf. G. d. S., pp. 50—51. 39. On "Banu Sasan" cf. Horovitz, 1905, pp. 6—12; cf. also the humorous exhortations of 'Agib, translated into Ger. pp. 13—17; additional material cf. J. H. Krammers. E. d. Is., s. v. 40. Cf. Jacob, 1910, pp. 6—12; cf. also the humorous exhortations of 'Agib, translated into Ger.

resembles the *Phallos* theme of the Greek farce, and this analogy is sufficient to show the connection of the Arabic Shadow Theatre with the Greek phallic mime.³³

In a long list of comparisons Wisal describes his secret passions and characteristics. Later he calls on his secretary Tag Babug (it seems to me that this very name invites laughter as *Tag* means "crown" and *Babug* — "slippers"; thus we have a combination of the most precious & the most cheap in the name of one person); and he proceeds to read out a document which is nothing but a parody on the writing of secretaries, which all its elaborate adornments. After that, the secretary, by special request of *Taif al-Khayal*, recites a *Qasida* also full of parody.

After some more preliminary scenes, the first play starts in earnest. The background is on a theme, fairly common in popular literature and later also in the drama of the Muslim East. It is the theme of a grand marriage festival at the end of which the bridegroom discovers with horror that the bride is of a most ugly appearance, although her looks have been highly praised by the match-maker. In our case it is the Amir Wisal who wants to get married. An evil agent, Umm Rashid al-Qawwada, is called in and describes the charms of a young lady. When the terms are settled a mourner bursts forth in a humorous lamentation (remindful of the jester's lamentation in Jewish marriages). From his words it emerges that the Amir has been reduced to poverty.³⁴ When finally, after the ceremony is over, the bridegroom lifts the veil from his bride's face, he is confronted by a monster. "Her nose resembles a hill, her lips are like the lips of a camel, and her colour like that of a beetle crawling in the dirt." Infuriated the bridegroom uses his stick indiscriminately. He threatens the husband of the evil agent, Sheikh 'Aflaq,³⁵ with a thorough beating, and decrees that the agent herself be dragged through the streets of the town unto her death, as a sign of disgrace. Wisal leaves *Taif al-Khayal* and decides on a pilgrimage to the Higaz, to atone for his sins by visiting the Muslim holy places.³⁶

The second part of Ibn Daniyal's work is called '*Agib and Gharib*'. In this Shadow Play quite a number of realistic figures appear, reminding us of al-Hariri's heroes. The elaborately pictured life

the *Phallos* — RE vol. 38, 1938, pp. 1681—1748, and bibliography ib. Reich, 1903, has tried to clarify the points of similarity between the Turkish and the Greek mime.

34. Punning: مال المال وحال الحال وذهب الذهب وفاضت الفضة وسلب السلب
35. The meaning of 'Aflaq is "fat and soft"; also "sexual cohabitation" — cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, s. v. Both meanings fit the way in which Ibn Daniyal presents this type.
36. G. d. S., pp. 42—50.

monies — *al-Ra'is* — calls out, *Ya Taif al-Khayal Ya Kamil al-I'tidal* ! ("Oh, spirit of imagination, oh, proportionally perfect !"). These words are said ironically, as the first image to appear on the scene is a hunch-back. The hump is the theme for the next song of the *Ra'is*. He praises the camel's hump whose shoulders seat adorable ladies ; humped is the lyre from which melodies flow ; the ship cruises the seven seas and withstands wind and weather only by its hump-like prow ; the alchemist searching for the "philosophers' stone" is also a hunch-back (*Ahdab*), as he is perpetually bent over his work.

This same *Taif al-Khayal* answers with a *Zagal* which is full of complimentary remarks, as is still typical of Turkish Shadow Plays. After expressing thanks to the audience and praising God and Muhammad, a prayer for the welfare of the Sultan is recited. Immediately after the prologue the Master of Ceremonies continues to chatter with the audience in versified prose and to stimulate them with remarks subtle and humorous. He tells them, for instance, about the pleasures of drinking wine and sipping intoxicating drugs. He himself had been addicted but he gave it up when he returned to Egypt and found there a complete change of custom, in that people no longer drank wine (by order of the authorities). He was invited to the house of a friend who apologized for the lack of spirits in his home and excused himself by explaining that he was in mourning for Abu Murra. The latter is none other than Satan, and they both proceed to lament him. ²⁹

After this lamentation *Taif al-Khayal* expresses his grief at the separation from his brother, Amir Wisal ; after his separation he began to roam about the world. Then the Herald (*Rasil al-Khayal*) calls for the Amir Wisal. A decorated soldier appears and introduces himself as "father of sins" and "lord of the *dabbus*", the genitals. In most dictionaries *dabbus* is translated by rod (or stick, pin). In Tunis the man who operates the figures in the Shadow Play by means of a stick is called to this very day "Abu Dabbus". ³⁰ In Turkish, *Topûz* or *Tôpûz* (today: *topuz*, as in Roumanian) have the same meaning. ³¹ But in the Arabic spoken in Egypt it has the additional meaning of the masculine sexual organ. ³² According to Horovitz, this image

part I, footnote to pp. 152—153. We shall see further on that Ibn Iyas confirms the existence of the Shadow Play in Egypt, but does not say anything about it. 29. G. d. S., pp. 38—42 ; etc. 30. Flögel, 1914, vol. II,

pp. 10—11. See, anyhow, the way in which this by-name is mentioned by Reich, 1903, vol. I, part II, p. 649, n. 2 — and the source about "Ibn Dabbus" in Tunis. 31. Cf., e.g., Ionescu-Gion, 1899, pp. 397, 555, 746.

32. Vollers, 1897, pp. 306—307. 33. Cf. Horovitz, 1905, p. 29. cf. about

in his book *Kitab Makhzan al-Asrar*.²¹ Further evidence is furnished by Wagih el-Din Ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Munawi, who lived in the thirteenth century. Some of the verses attributed to him by 'Ala el-Din 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Alla el Baha'i al-Ghuzuli (d. 1412 A.D.) were collected in his anthology called *Matali' al-Budur fi Manazil al-Surur*.²² Ibn Higga relates in his work *Thamarat al-Awraq* that Salah al-Din summoned a troupe of players to present a Shadow Play before him.²³ Al-Maqrizi too mentions the *Khayal al-Zill*.²⁴ I wish to differ here from Jacob,²⁵ who considers al-Maqrizi's evidence basically wrong. Although al-Maqrizi admittedly lived a long time after the events he describes occurred, it is certain that he copied a considerable part of his stories from sources which were contemporary to the period with which he deals, even though these sources are not mentioned by him.

IBN DANIYAL'S PLAYS

The first Arabic Shadow Play that has come down to us was written by Muhammad Ibn Daniyal. The play has been analysed by Jacob.²⁶ This Egyptian physician (d. 1311 A.D.) wrote three Shadow Plays in poetry and versified prose — the only remnants of the use of poetry in a play that are left to us from the Arab culture of the Middle Ages. Three manuscripts of Ibn Daniyal's work remain to day, and Jacob succeeded in dating them definitely to the time of al-Malik al-Zahir Beybars (1260—1277 A.D.), and more exactly after 1267.²⁷ It is highly probable that in picturing Beybars' times Ibn Iyas copied considerable parts from Ibn Daniyal's first Shadow Play, *Taif al-Khayal*.²⁸

All three plays were intended for actual performance on the stage: in the prologue the author gives advice to a friend, who had encouraged him in this work, on the production and performance of the play before a selected audience. The versified prose is chequered with lyrics intended to be chanted. After the prologue, which reveals a considerable insight into the problems of the Shadow Play stage, the Master of Cere-

21. ed. Nathaniel Bland, London, 1846, verses 78 and 1143 ss. 22. vol. I, Cairo, 1299 A.H., p. 261, lines 18—22; cf. line 10, which, I think, has nothing to do with Shadow Plays. 23. G. d. S., pp. 30—33. 24. Id., pp. 23—24, to which *al Khitat*, 2, p. 51, l. 18—20 should be added. 25. G. d. S., ib. 26. Keleti Szemle, 2, 1901, pp. 76—77. But Jacob had already written about the Shadow Theatre in the first volume of this periodical, 1900, pp. 233—236. 27. G. d. S., pp. 34—38. 28. Cf. the yet to be verified assertion of Kahle, "Khayal al-zill fi al-quṭr al-Misri" (*Al-adab wal-fann*, first year, part 4, 1944, p. 63). It should be mentioned here that the first to observe (as far as I know), that the Shadow Play is mentioned by Ibn Iyas, was M. Quatremère, in his French translation to al-Maqrizi's book, "Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte", Paris, 1837,, vol. I,

from its inhabitants. *Karagöz* shows many points of similarity to the Greek mimic, as shown with great erudition and acuteness by Reich.¹⁵

To this day mimicry is dear to the Arabs. Before the first World War there lived in Cairo Ahmad Fahim el-Far who was beloved by the population for his skill in imitating the voices of birds and beasts, and especially in his ability to present scenes of village and harem life. This Ahmad el-Far, known by his nick-name Abu Rabiya used to perform at the head of a troupe of twelve men, who also acted the role of women. His farces were not entirely free from all obscenities, and were immensely popular. 'Ali Kaka who performed the part of the village fool was likewise highly appreciated.¹⁶ That the mimicry was, and presumably is still to-day, favoured by the Turks we have plenty of evidence, as, for instance, the letters of Hartmann to Fleischer early in 1876.¹⁷ The mime, dear as it is to the Arabs, did much to further the development of the Arabic Shadow Theatre and to facilitate its taking root among them, particularly in Egypt.

Until the twelfth century the Shadow Theatre was apparently almost unknown to the Muslims. Frequently we come across the *Samar* (the night-life) of the Khalifas and had they known about the Shadow Plays, mention would certainly have been made of them. Moreover, a special kind of dramatic art is essential for the Shadow Theatre, whereas the development of Arab culture with its own peculiar character was unfavourable for its creation. Only the eastern influence was able to create and develop the Arabic Shadow Theatre; and a period rich with eastern influences was that of the Seljuks. After an interesting remark in one of the books of Ibn Hazm,¹⁸ "*Khayal al-Zill*", the Arabic name for Shadow Plays, is frequently mentioned during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,¹⁹ indicating therefore that the Shadow Theatre existed although exact details are lacking.

It is quite possible that when 'Umar Khayyam compared — as was done similarly in India and Java — the *Fanus-i-Khayal* (perhaps the Shadow Theatre lantern) with *Cerh-i-Felek* (the wheel of the world) he meant the Shadow Play.²⁰ Nizami mentioned it more explicitly

1936, pp. 73—74. 15. Reich, 1903, 1:202, 622 sq. The Greek mimic and its surviving traces in the Near East have been analysed by Horovitz, 1905, e.g. pp. 27—29. 16. Reich, 1903, 667, n. 1. S. also Prüfer, BRE, vol.

4 (1911), pp. 872—873. 17. Z.D.M.G., 30, 1876, p. 159; cf. p. 168. 18. Cf. Ibn Hazm, *Kitab al-akhlāq wal-siyar fi mudawā al-nufus*, Cairo, al-Sa'ada Press, p. 28. This intimation, which compares our world to the Shadow Play — mentioned above — belongs to the 11th cent. and is the earliest important evidence from Muslim Spain. Cf. also Hitti, 1943, p. 690, n. 3. 19. About the spelling of this technical term s. Jacob's footnote to *Türkische Bibliothek*, vol. 10, Berlin, 1909, p. 143. 20. G.d.S., pp. 28—29.

speech. Mimicry was to be found in the East as well as in Greece, already in the earliest times. Mimetic elements were frequent during ancient festivals, even of the Babylonians and Persians. It seems probable, although the theory has not yet been finally proved, that mimicry was used on several festivals of the Jews mainly on Purim.¹¹ This already suffices to show that the mimic and his art were to be found in the Near East and its surroundings.

Mez tries to illustrate the way by which the Arabs may have come to imitate the manner of speech. He assumes that the accurate transmission of the traditions (*Hadith*) included a comic element, saying "Imitate me". In this way the inclination to attribute falsified statements to prominent persons may have developed, through imitating their peculiar style. On the other hand there existed a large number of Arabic dialects, and in the towns where all kinds of people from all sorts of places met, one could easily discern numerous differences between the various manners of expression. From the literature of the Abbasid period we know of a number of instances of mimicry (*Hakiya*) which is not at all very different from the mimicry of our days, especially that used in Shadow Plays.¹²

Another form which contains mimicry is the *Maqama*. In it too the imitation of many types different from each other plays a distinguished part. However, in the *Maqama* the artistic-literary factor is more important than in the *Hakiya*, and linguistic sophistication is valued more than successful imitation. This approach limits the realism of the *Maqama*.¹³ It would seem that the art of the popular tale-tellers, the Turkish *Meddah* and the Arabic *Hakawati*, full of mimicry as it was, preceded the Shadow Theatre.¹⁴

It follows that dramatic elements were indeed to be found in the Arab East, but they did not crystallize until quite recently into a special form with its own established technique. Greek mimics and the Greek art of mimicry continued to exist in the Muslim East, and with the Arabs generally, and had their share in the influences which went up to make Arabic mimicry. The Turks came into direct contact with the Byzantines a long time before Constantinople fell into their hands, and after they conquered that city they inherited the mime

ib., 1904, p. 598 ss. 11. Cf. Horovitz, 1905, pp. 16—17. 12. Cf. *inter alia*, Adam Mez, *Abulqasim*, Introduction, especially pp. XV-XVI and Horovitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 18—21. 13. The mimetic element of the *maqama* has been observed by Horovitz, *id.*, pp. 21—27. 14. Jacob published a booklet, *Aus den Vorträgen eines türkischen Meddah*, Berlin, 1900. Then he published, more detailed *Vorträge türkischer Meddah's*, Berlin, 1904. Cf. Paulus, 1905. For bibliographic material cf. Der Islam, 4, 1913, pp. 130—131; Saussey,

well as in the Shadow-Play generally—and this too is a popular motive in many places — there is an easily discernible desire to appease the magic powers, such as, for instance, the evil eye. It should be borne in mind that magic is connected with the emotional element of fear of the shadow, and there is little doubt that a magic element was present in early Shadow Plays. For our present purpose it is particularly necessary to understand these connections, as the Javanese are Muslims and were very fond of Shadow Plays until recent years.

The Siamese Shadow Play is influenced by India and Java, although its images are marked by an individual and becoming style. ⁷ Certain evidence points to the independent development of the Shadow Theatre in China and the Chinese Shadow Figures show a certain similarity in their general character to the figures known to us from various Islamic Shadow Theatres. ⁸ There seems to have existed a tradition making China the home of the Shadow Theatre, and the designation "*Les ombres chinoises*", was current in Europe for a long time.

THE SHADOW THEATRE AND ISLAM

We possess one piece of evidence — so far the only one and of the utmost importance — of the contact between the Chinese Shadow Theatre and the Islamic world. This is the evidence of the Persian historian Rashid al-Din (d. 1318 A.D.), son of the famous conqueror Genghis-Khan. From behind a curtain were performed wonderful plays, in which there appeared all kinds of popular types. Among those was an old man with a dignified grey beard and on his head there was a tarbush tied to the tail of a horse; the old man was dragged on the ground, his face downwards. ⁹ The most important aspect of this description is the evidence of a contact and be it only an accidental contact (the questions of Oghotai seem to confirm the hypothesis that this was the first time that he saw a play of that kind) between a Shadow Players' troupe and Muslims. Probably this contact came about through the Mongolians, who, if not the very first to pass on the Shadow Theatre from the Far East to the Islamic world, were, at any rate, important transmitters. ¹⁰

The basis of the Shadow Play of the Muslims is the imitation of the phenomena of life — the behaviour of people and their manner of

✓ of a performance
at the court of
Oghotai

pp. 149—161. S. photographs of Marionettes from Java in *Wajang Poerwa*, published by Srijks Ethnographisch Museum. 7. Cf. Sonakul, 1947.

8. Cf. Hagemann, pp. 444—452. 9. G. d. S., p. 18 ss. This stood for the punishment of a rebel, and its use is known from the life and legend of various peoples. 10. Cf. Jacob's opinion about the Mongols' role, id., p. 20 to Jacob, 1901c, p. 6; rev. by Pischel, D.L.Z., 1902, p. 403; H. Reich,

However reasonable this conjecture might seem, there is very scarce evidence to substantiate it. India is the native land of important languages, of a considerable part of the folk-tales and of the puppet shows.² However, it is hardly possible to be convinced by the allusions which various scholars found in the Buddhist text of "*Teri Gâtâ*" ("nuns' songs") and in the "*Mahâ Bhârata*", in one of the books of the astronomer-astrologer *Warâha Mihira* and in other sources. There is no certainty that the reference there is indeed to real shadow-plays.³ Similarly the scanty information on this kind of folk-lore in Ceylon does not permit us to form any clear idea about the existence of ancient Shadow-Plays in that country.

Although the story-contents of the Shadow-Plays in Java are more ancient still, they are well known to everybody; moreover these tales belong to the type told to the very young.⁴ This explains the more popular character of the Shadow-Theatre in Java, whereas patrons of this theatre among the Arabs frequently demanded plays with a novel content, still unfamiliar to them. The Javanese Shadow-Play in its subject-matter and content is influenced by India. It is interesting to note that we can detect the Indian mystical motive which compares the whole of our earthly career to a "Shadow Play". This characteristically Indian idea passed on to other countries.⁵ The Javanese Shadow Theatre describes the lives of the gods and kings, of the heroes and saints of early times. Herein it differs from the Arab Shadow Theatre, which is more realistic in its character. The resemblance of the two is in the symbolism of the plays, which presents in a condensed form and by way of allusion, a section of life with all its virtues and defects.

The *Wajang*, as the Shadow Play is called in Java, is deeply rooted in the religious views held by the Javanese, and is saturated with poetry, interwoven with recognisable symbols. Religion and art are interlaced.⁶ In its religious function, the *Wajang* recalls the role of worship in the Roman Catholic Church. But whereas in the last-mentioned there is a yearning to draw near to God, in the *Wajang*, as

bibliography, *Bibliographie über das Schattentheater* (2nd enlarged ed. 1902—not for sale). In 1906 Jacob published an even more detailed bibliography, divided according to the centuries, from the eleventh to the twentieth, and called *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Welt-Litteratur*. I have not seen the enlarged edition of 1925, but Jacob did not add anything of importance for our problems to his "addenda" of 1912 (Berlin). 2. Cf. Pischel, 1900; reviewed by Hermann Reich, D.L.Z. 1904, p. 600 sq. 3. Cf. G. d. S., pp. 5—8, in which he brings inconclusive arguments against some Indologists. 4. Hagemann, pp. 154—155. 5. G. d. S., pp. 9—18, etc. 6. Hagemann,

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SHADOW-PLAYS IN THE NEAR EAST*

*Presented with affectionate respect to the
Professors and Teachers in the School of
Oriental Studies, the Hebrew University,
Jerusalem.*

INTRODUCTION

By "Shadow-Play" we understand that play which was performed with the help of figures behind a curtain, so that the audience saw only the movement of the shadows on the curtain. For generations the "Shadow-Play" was nearly the only amusement which even the humblest could enjoy. The Shadow-Theatre, the artistic level of which is not high, could flourish even in a country torn by internecine wars and strifes, which delayed its cultural development and impoverished its inhabitants. Hence the popular character of the Shadow Theatre in the Arab countries, especially in Egypt and Syria.

In any case, the evidence of the existence of Shadow-Plays outside the Arab countries is rare during early times. Our information concerning the antiquity of the Shadow Theatre of Greece, with its vital contribution to the development of the theatre generally, is unsubstantial, although we are familiar with the puppet shows in the classic world. The hypotheses concerning ancient Egyptian influence on the engraved silhouette sketches of various Greek jugs are insufficient to reverse the conclusion based on prolonged research, that the source of the Shadow-Theatre was in the Far East; the obscene element, though, may have been acquired from the Greek mimicry, perhaps through Byzantium.¹

* This study deals mainly with the popular Arabic Shadow-Plays. The Bibliography is found on pp. 70-72. Cf. the figures on pp. 43, 45 and 47.

1. For the ornamented silhouettes on Greek vases, see E. Pottier. 1898. For Marionette Shows in the Classic World s. the important study of Reich, 1903, vol. I, part I, p. 669—675 and *passim*. Cf. Jacob, G. d. S., Berlin, 1907, p. 3—4. Jacob compiled some bibliographies relating to the "Shadow Plays". In 1901 Enno Littmann's book *Arabische Schattenspiele* appeared, and Jacob wrote the appendixes, of which the last was named "Schattenspiel Bibliographie". This was the first serious bibliography of Shadow Plays in different countries. Jacob himself enlarged this list several times. That very year he published a more detailed "Schattenspiel Bibliographie", which he reprinted, with important additions, under the name of "Litteratur-Uebersicht", at the end of his *Das Schattentheater in seiner Wanderung vom Morgenland zum Abendland*, 1901. Jacob rearranged the results of his studies in a yet enlarged

ERRATA

p. XXV	1. 22:	add, after the brackets: of a performance at the court of Oghotai.		
p. XXV	1. 23:	instead of Ginguhiz	read	Ginghiz
p. XXVIII	1. 5:	" " Matali	"	Matali'
p. XXIX	1. 29:	" " debbus	"	dabbus
p. XXX	1. 39:	" " الزهب	"	الذهب
p. XXXI	1. 40:	" " pp. 6-12; cf. also the humorous exhortation of 'Agib, translated into Ger-	"	pp.23-27.
p. XXXV	1. 3:	" " Shadw	"	Shadow
p. LI	1. 30:	" " Karağoz	"	Karağöz
p. LIV	1. 10:	" " Cesme	"	Çeşme
p. LIV	1. 12:	" " Aiwaz	"	'Aiwarz
p. LV	1. 21:	" " extinct	"	extinct
p. LIX	1. 21:	" " Hamman	"	Hammam

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